EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES IN EAST PAKISTAN

Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. LXXVI

Published under the auspices of the
Government of West Bengal

STUDIES No. 51

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SANSKRIT COLLEGE
CALCUTTA
1973

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Published by

The Principal, Sanskrit College,
1, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12

Price : Rs. 12·50

Printed by

Sri Phanibhusan Hazra at the Gupta Press,
37/7, Beniatola Lane, Calcutta-9.

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FOREWORD

Perhaps no field of academic studies has felt the devastating effects of the partition of India more severely for the last twenty-five years than Indian history and archaeology. Political division of the sub-continent has made it next to impossible for scholars in India and Pakistan to be in touch with one another and exchange their views and publications on topics bearing on the country's common past. Since the division of the body-historic had not (to the utter chagrin of some political gods!) accompained that of the body-politic, the situation had necessarily imposed vital limitations to our historical and archaeological investigations and left important gaps in some aspects of our studies in these fields. In the circumstances the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series can congratulate itself on being able to include the present highly interesting and valuable monograph entitled *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan* in its publications. East Bengal (formerly East Pakistan, now Bangladesh) has always been a region rich in archaeological remains and the inscriptions surveyed and analysed in the volume were discovered here during the time when it had formed the eastern wing of the state of Pakistan. The records are of the highest importance from the point of view of the history of ancient Bengal. In fact they furnish fresh material which has enabled scholars entirely to revise and rewrite some aspects of the history of the Chandra Dynasty. It must be counted as a singular piece of good fortune that the epigraphs have been handled here by the most competent living epigraphist of India, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar. His masterly treatment has made this slim volume indispensable to all students of the early history of Bengal and we are only too happy to place it before the scholarly world. Meanwhile the emergence of independent Bangladesh has once more brought the basic unity of Bengali Culture to a focal point and one is led to hope that the limitations and deficiencies, that the scholars of the two Bengals had so far inevitably to accept in their respective fields of study, will be gradually removed in the near future.

Bishnupada Bhattacharya
Principal

Sanskrit College
Calcutta.
September, 1973.

PREFACE

The present monograph embodies my lectures delivered a year ago in April, 1971, and the readers' attention requires to be drawn to a few facts in this connection.

The most important of such facts is that what was then 'East Pakistan' (i. e. the eastern wing of the State of Pakistan) is now 'Bangladesh'. The emergence of this new independent State, which was then unthinkable, reminds us of Kalhaṇa's remarks at the end of his description of the fall of the mighty Śāhis of Uttarāpatha with the defeat of Trilocanapāla (1013-21 A. D.). The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* says,

Sa Śāhi-deśaḥ s-āmātyaḥ sa-bhūbhṛt sa-paricchadaḥ |
kim=abhūt kimu vā n-ābhūd=iti sañcintyate='dhunā || (VII. 69).

"That empire of the Śāhis [whose greatness on the earth has been briefly indicated in the account of king Śaṅkaravarman's reign]—now one asks oneself whether, with its kings, its ministers and its court, it ever existed or not.

Svapne-'pi yad=asambhāvyaṁ yatra bhagnā manorathāḥ |
helayā tad-vidadhato n-āsādhyaṁ vidyate Vidheḥ || (VII. 67).

"Nothing is impossible to Fate. It effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible to man, what human fancy fails to reach."

Of course the impossible has been rendered possible largely by the unwise policy followed by West Pakistani leaders like Yahiya Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; but the patriotism and heroism of the Bengalis and the help they received from India also contributed greatly to the creation of Bangladesh. Other factors were the popularity and leadership of the East Pakistani politician, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and the sagacity of the Indian Prime Minister, Sm. Indira Gandhi. We greet the new sovereign State of Bangladesh whose rise is as important in the modern history of our sub-continent as the creation of Pakistan quarter of a century ago.

The second notable point in respect of these lectures is that no satisfactory and comprehensive account of the excavations on the Mainamati-Lalmai ridge has as yet been published and one has to depend on the inadequate (and sometimes unintelligible or conflicting ; cf. below, pp. 57-58) notices in F. A. Khan's (1) *Excavation at Salban Raja Palace Mound on Mainamati-Lalmai Ridge*, (2) *Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati* (1956), (3) *Third Phase of Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan* (1957) ; and (4) *Mainamati—a Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan*, Karachi, 1963 ; cf. *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 213 ff. ; *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 1, Karachi, 1964, pp. 18-20 ; *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. V, pp. 179 ff. Only two of Khan's reports were available to me through the kindness of Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah of the University of Dacca. B. M. Morrison's *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*, 1970, has just reached me.

The third point to which we are inclined to draw the readers' attention relates to the political geography of East Pakistan, i.e. the present Bangladesh, about which our knowledge was inadequate during the long years beginning with the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Thus we have referred many times to the 'Tippera District' though it appears that the name was changed by the Government of Pakistan to 'Comilla District.' Likewise, it appears that a separate District was created out of the old Tangail Sub-Division of the Mymensingh District.

Two other facts may also be mentioned in this connection. The first of them is the untimely death of Mr. David J. McCutchion who was so good as to lend me his personal copy of *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 3, Karachi, 1966 (cf. below, p. 42). Whenever I think of this energetic young scholar, my heart fills with sadness. The other fact is that Sri S. N. Siddhanta's paper on the Jagadishpur plate which appeared in Bengali in the *Bāṅglā Academy Patrikā* (Dacca, B. S. 1370) and a photographic copy of which, made by Dr. S. C. Bhattacharya in London, was made available to me for study (see below, p. 8), has now appeared in English in the recently published *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, Vol. I, 1972, No. 1, a complimentary copy of which just reached me from the Museum. Of course there is no improvement in the present treatment of the

epigraph, and the article has been printed without the use of diacritical marks. But I was thrilled at the feeling that now the dark days of our historical studies are over at least with reference to the two parts of Bengal and that epigraphs discovered in one part will henceforth be available for study in the other zone without much difficulty.

The index of the present volume has been prepared by Dr. S. P. Singh to whom my sincere thanks are due.

645, New Alipore,
Calcutta-53.
April 15, 1973.

D. C. Sircar

LECTURE I

I

Introduction

I am extremely thankful to the authorities of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, to have been so good as to invite me to deliver a course of three lectures under the auspices of its Research Seminar. The subject I selected for these lectures is 'Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan'. This choice of mine probably requires a little explanation at least to persons who are not directly engaged in the reconstruction of the early history of Bengal including both the present West Bengal and East Pakistan. Needless to say that it is easy for the politicians to divide a country into two parts; but it is certainly impossible to separate the history of one of those parts from that of the other.

It is an established fact that the majority of the early inscriptions so far discovered in Bengal have come from what is now East Pakistan, i.e. East and North Bengal.[1] It is therefore no wonder that, during the past few years, the only important epigraphical record of an early Bengal ruler discovered outside East Pakistan is the Jayrampur (Balasore District, Orissa) copper-plate grant[2] of Gopacandra, while the number of valuable early copper-plate records alone, discovered in East Pakistan, besides numerous seal and image inscriptions, is at least no less than nine. More important is, however, another fact. It is not usually possible for us in India to get photographs or impressions of such records, and even copies of books or periodicals containing discussions on them are very difficult to secure. Some time ago, my old friend, Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah of the University of Dacca, told me that the same difficulty faces Pakistani students of history in respect of Indian books and periodicals. The difficulty with which I succeeded in

1. It may be noted that out of the 23 inscriptions (17 edited and 6 noticed in the Appendices) in N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III (1929), 1 came from Orissa, 15 from East Pakistan and 7 from West Bengal.
2. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 530-31; also *Indian Studies Past and Present*, Vol. VII, No. 2, January-March, 1966, pp. 123ff.

securing the materials for studying some of the inscriptions will be described in the course of these lectures.

In the present lectures, I am not inclined to include the East Pakistani epigraphs on which my writings have already appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica* or elsewhere howsoever important they may be. In this category falls the Mahisantosh image inscription of king Mahendrapāla I (c. 885-908 A.D.) of the Gujara-Pratihāra dynasty.

The village of Mahisantosh in the Dinajpur District of Pakistan lies close to Balurghat in the West Dinajpur District of West Bengal. Sometime ago, an image bearing an inscription was discovered at Mahisantosh and was secured for the gallery of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta. Unfortunately, the Directorate was unwilling to supply me with photographs or impressions of the inscription for study. However, I received materials for the study of the record from the Chief Epigraphist of the Archæological Survey of India, Mysore, for publication. The great importance of the inscription lies in its date which is the 15th regnal year of the Pratihāra emperor. Formerly, a number of inscriptions bearing dates ranging from the second to the ninth year of the same king's reign were found in South Bihar and one epigraph of his 5th regnal year was found at Paharpur in the Rajshahi District, now in East Pakistan. It is now clear from all these inscriptions that wide areas of Bihar and Bengal were under the occupation of Mahendrapāla I for a long period covering more than a decade and that, during this period, the position of the contemporary Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 854-910 A.D.) must have been precarious. Whether the Pāla king was busy in reorganising his forces for the recovery of his kingdom or was ruling over parts of his former kingdom as a subordinate ally of Mahendrapāla I cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient information. But he seems to have had an opportunity of recovering his position by siding with one of the claimants for the Gurjara-Pratihāra throne of Kanauj after Mahendrapāla's death. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204ff.

The Madanpara copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena, re-discovered by myself, may also possibly belong to the same category. It is well-known to the students of the Edilpore plate that, of the numerous writers on the history of the Senas, only Franz Kielhorn, Haraprasad Sastri and Nagendranath Vasu read the name of the

donor of this charter as Viśvarūpasena, the son of Lakṣmaṇasena, while all others read the king's name as Keśavasena who was regarded as a brother of Viśvarūpasena. Prinsep published a rough transcript of the inscription together with a 'doctored' illustration in *JASB*, Vol. VII, Part I, 1838; but the copper-plate was later lost from the custody of the Asiatic Society, so that most later writers wrote on the basis of the defective illustration published by Prinsep. Similar was the case with the Madanpara plate published by Vasu. However, in 1952, I succeeded in re-discovering this plate in the Dacca Museum, and my comparative study showed clearly that the reading *Viśvarūpasena*, preferred by Kielhorn, Sastri and Vasu on the other plate, is certainly correct. Both grants were originally made by Sūryasena. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 315ff.; also *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 209ff. Cf. *JASB*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, pp. 6ff.

In these lectures, I am also not inclined to discuss certain East Pakistani inscriptions which are known for some years, though they have not yet been properly edited. This class includes the copper-plate inscription of Daśarathadeva which I noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1952, as well as in the Bengali periodical *Itihās*, Vol. VIII, B. S. 1364-65, Part III, pp. 160-63. Of course, the Kurpala copper-plate grant of Samācāradeva noticed in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1943, edited by R. C. Majumdar, p. 271, has not yet been published even though it was discovered long before the creation of Pakistan.

Many of the inscriptions discussed or noticed in my lectures were discovered in the course of excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, on the Mainamati hills, also called the Mainamati-Lalmai ridge. This range of low and picturesque hills extending from north to south for nearly eleven miles lies about five miles to the West of Comilla, headquarters of the Tippera District of East Pakistan. An extensive centre of Buddhist culture was discovered on the peaks of the Mainamati hills accidentally by the military engineers while setting up their advance camp during the Second World War. The Archaeological Department of the Government of Pakistan undertook in 1954 a survey of the area and found that there were many ancient Buddhist shrines and monasteries on the hill tops.

One of the sites excavated by the Pakistan Department of Archaeology is called Salban Vihar because of the discovery of the

ruins of a *vihāra* or Buddhist manastic establishment at the place which is near Salbanpur. It is situated about the middle of the ridge. Several seasons' excavations at the site laid hare a Buddhist monastery with a central shrine. The square layout of the monastery and the cruciform plan of the shrine with pointed angles and recessed corners recall similar peculiarities of the Somapura-mahāvihāra dug out at Paharpur in the Rajshahi District, also in Pakistan, nearly half a century ago. A copper-plate charter issued by king Bhavadeva was discovered, along with a number of silver coins which are stated to bear the legend 'Patikera' reminding us of the early medieval kingdom of Paṭṭikerā, the capital of which bore the same name and stood in the vicinity of the Mainamati hills. It appears, as we shall see below, that the Salban Vihar is called 'the Great Monastery of Bhavadeva' in the legend of a red stone seal found in the course of the excavations.

The damaged copper-plates of Bhavadeva and Ānandadeva from Salban Vihar have not yet been published. But the previously published copper-plate[1] of Bhavadeva informs us that they belonged to the Deva dynasty ruling over the Samataṭa country from the city of Devaparvata standing on the Chandimura peak at the southern end of the Mainamati hills. The king was a *Paramasaugata* (a devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha) and enjoyed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. Bhavadeva, who was also known as Abhinavamṛgāṅka, is represented as the son of Ānandadeva and the grandson of Vīradeva. Palaeographical consideration suggests for the charter a date about the close of the eighth century A. D.

Another Buddhist shrine of square shape was discovered outside the main monastery in the north-western corner at Salbanpur. At Kotila Mura, which occupies a prominent part of the Mainamati ridge and is situated about three miles to the north of Salban Vihar, excavations revealed the layout of three *stūpas* built in the traditional style. The remains of an oblong shrine were unearthed about a mile and a half to the north-west of Kotila Mura at a site now called Char Patra Mura (literally, 'the hillock of four charters') because no less than four inscribed copper plates were discovered in the entrance passage of the said shrine, together with a bronze relic-casket,

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1957, pp. 83ff. and Plates.

What has been said above would show that the excavations on the Mainamati hills have yielded a rich harvest of valuable antiquities such as the remains of a number of Buddhist monasteries and shrines, at least six copper-plate grants (two from Salban Vihar and four from Char Patra Mura), and a red sandstone seal from Salban Vihar (referred to as the Bhavadeva-mahāvihāra). Besides, a large number of terracotta sealings bearing writings and tiny *stūpas* in relief, one of them exhibiting the Dharmacakra and a three-line inscription, were also found. Kotila Mura has yielded a number of circular terracotta sealings bearing Buddhist inscriptions and the replica of a *stūpa*. Among old coins unearthed in the course of excavations, there are silver issues bearing the legends 'Lalitakarah' and 'Dharmavijaya' (besides those with the legend 'Patikera' referred to above). and some gold coins including a few issues of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II and a number of the so-called imitation Gupta coins, one of which is said to bear the legend 'Bangala Mriganka', explained as 'deer-stamp of Bangala'. There are also several hundreds of votive clay-*stūpas*, some encasing small inscribed sealings and others containing bone relics, besides a bronze relic-casket already mentioned, several miniature bronze images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas and the goddess Tārā, and a number of stone sculptures including some bearing inscriptions.

The 'imitation Gupta' gold coin on which the legend is supposed to be 'Bangala Mriganka' is very intesting. The legend seems to be the same as 'Sri Bhangala Mriganka' as read on the seal of Bhavadeva's copper-plate grant, although the correct reading of the legend on that of the previously published copper charter of the said king is known to be *Śrī-Abhinavamṛgāṅka*, 'the illustrious Abhinavamṛgāṅka (i.e. Bhavadeva)'. The most important information supplied by the said coin is that some of the 'imitation Gupta' gold coins were issued by the kings of the Deva dynasty who appear to have ruled in the eighth century A.D. Since the imitation coins resemble the gold issues of the Gauḍa emperor Śaśāṅka (c. 600-25 A.D.) of Karṇasuvarṇa, scholars have assigned such coins, which are generally found in the eastern region of Bengal including Samataṭa, covering the Tippera and Noakhali Districts, to the middle and latter half of the seventh century A.D. About that time, the Khaḍgas of Vaṅga in the Dacca area ousted the semi-independent Rātas who ruled over Samataṭa from the city of Devaparvata. It

seems that the Khaḍgas were themselves ousted from Samataṭa by the Devas about the beginning of the eighth century and that the imitation coins were issued (sometimes by private moneyers) in Samataṭa during the regime of the Khaḍgas and the Devas, if not also of the Rātas.[1]

It may be pointed out here that, of the six copper-plate grants discoverd as a result of the excavations on the Mainamati hills, we are in a position to deal in details with only three and half records, viz. the two grants of Laḍahacandra and one charter of Govindacandra discovered at Charpatra Mura and the first half of a record, of Vīradharadeva, found at Salban Vihar. The latter half of Vīradhara's charter and the Deva plate found along with the others have not been illutrated. The fourth copper-plate charter discovered at Char Patra Mura has been illustrated along with the plates of Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra ; but much of its writing is corroded and the contents cannot be satisfactorily made out. This charter seems to be issued by a Deva king.

Another important copper charter discovered in East Pakistan is the Dacca plate of Kalyāṇacandra, son of Śrīcandra, which was issued in the king's 24th regnal year. It has not yet been illustrated, but has been briefly noticed by Prof. A. H. Dani in his paper appearing in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1960, Aligarh, Part I, pp. 3ff.[2] It is said that the king is introduced in this epigraph as *Paramasaugato Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śrīcandradeva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Parameśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭārako Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān Kalyāṇacandradevaḥ*. The record is stated to contain the following two stanzas in the description of Trailokyacandra and Śrīcandra, grandfather and father respectively of Kalyāṇacandra.

1. *Gauḍānām=apacitam=añjalimayo hasteṣu dṛṣṭo na ced=*
   bandhas=arhi kaṭhora-śṛṅkhala-mayaḥ pādeṣu saṁropitaḥ /
   aṅgais=sārddham=agāt praṇāma-rabhasān=mūrdhnā
   dharitrīn=na ced=
   yen=ābhyunnata-karkaśena sahasā khaḍgena nītas=tadā //

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1. For the history of the Rātas, see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, 1947, pp. 221ff. For the 'Gupta imitation' coins from East Bengal, see our note in *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. IV, pp. 186ff.
2. Cf. Sircar in *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 67, B. S. 1367, pp. 1ff.; also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XLII, Part 3, 1964, pp. 66-1ff.

2. *Pṛthvīpāla-bhaya-pramārjana-vidhāv=ārdraḥ kaṭhora=kramaḥ*
Govarṇṇ-onmathane mahotsava-gurur=Gopāla-saṁropaṇe |
līlā-nirjita-ruddha-Pāla-mahiṣī-pratyarpaṇe satrapo
yasy=āneka-ras-āspadaṁ sukṛtino viśv-āvalambo bhujaḥ ||

The first of the two stanzas speaks of Trailokyacandra's success against the Gauḍas (no doubt meaning the Pāla emperor). About Trailokyacandra's time (c. 905-25 A. D.), the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla I (c. 885-908 A. D.) conquered at least South Bihar and North Bengal from the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 854-910 A. D.) and rendered the latter's position precarious as we have said above. It is possible that Trailokyacandra sided with Mahendrapāla against Nārāyaṇapāla and succeeded in annexing wide areas of East Bengal to his original territory of Candradvīpa or Vaṅgāla in the Buckergunge region.

The second verse states that Śrīcandra (c. 925-75 A. D.) was soft in removing the fears of other kings (or of a ruler named Pṛthvīpāla), harsh in destroying Govarṇa, the initiator of rejoicing by installing Gopāla on the throne and shy in the matter of returning the queen of the Pāla king to her husband whom he had easily defeated or captured. Whether Govarṇa is the name of a person or locality or fort cannot be determined. But Gopāla whom the Candra king claims to have installed on the throne is no doubt Gopāla II (c. 940-60 A. D.) who was the grandson of Nārāyaṇapāla. It may be that there was a struggle for the Pāla throne between Gopāla II and another claimant and that the Candra king supported the former. In such a case, it may be the rival of Gopāla II who is stated to have been captured by Śrīcandra in the third foot of the verse, even though his name does not appear in the Pāla records so far discovered. If, however, Gopāla was a friend of Śrīcandra about the time of his accession, the relationship between the two soon became hostile as is indicated by the discovery of an image inscription[1] of the first regnal year of Gopāla II from Mandhuk in the Tippera District (in ancient Samataṭa) when it is considered along with the issue of Śrīcandra's charters from Vikramapura in the Dacca District and his father's claim to have conquered Samataṭa and parts of Vaṅga in the Paschimbhag plate of Śrīcandra's fifth regnal year, that was discovered in the Sylhet District of East

1. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 55ff.

Pakistan and will be discussed in details in the course of my lectures. As will be seen below, the Candra kings were probably compelled sometimes to become subordinate allies of the Pāla monarchs.

II

The Jagadishpur and Kalapur Plates

1. Jagadishpur Plate of the Gupta Year 128

More than five years ago when I was adding a concluding section in the preface to the second edition (1965) of my *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, I referred to the newly discovered inscriptions—included in the Supplement to the Volume—and in that context observed, "I was eager to add to them an inscription of the Gupta age reported to be published recently in East Pakistan. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to secure any facsimile of the epigraph or a copy of the publication in which it apeared."

The copper-plate inscription in question was secured for the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, in 1961, from a Hindu gentleman of Jagadishpur, a village under the Putia Police Station of the Rajshahi District of East Pakistan. It has been said that the plate was discovered underground, fifteen feet below the surface of the earth, by an ancestor of the gentleman while the former was digging the earth for the excavation of a ring-well. The account, however, may not be accurate. The plate was given to Sri Sachindranath Siddhanta, M. Sc., for decipherment and publication, and Siddhanta's paper on it in Bengali appeared in the *Bāṅgālā Academy Patrikā*, Dacca University, Māgh-Caitra, B. S. 1379, pp. 36ff. and Plates. Unfortunately, the said issue of the *Patrikā* was not available in Calcutta. It was only in Decemder, 1969. that Dr. S. C. Bhattacharya of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, who had an opportunity, while he was in London, to prepare photographic copies of the pages of Siddhanta's paper together with illustrations, was good enough to supply me with the material in his possession for study. I found out from an examination of the material that the transcript

and translation of the inscription as published by Siddhanta contain many errors.

The preservation of the writing on the plate is unsatisfactory in a few places. Moreover, the inscribed text contains mistakes of omission and commission because the person responsible for its composition had poor knowledge of the Sanskrit language. The style of the record is similar to that of the copper-plate inscriptions found at Damodarpur, Baigram, Paharpur. Nandapur and Kalaikuri (Sultanpur);[1] but none of these other epigraphs exhibits poverty of knowledge in Sanskrit in such a degree as the record under study. The above facts render the decipherment of the inscription somewhat difficult at places. It is therefore no wonder that Siddhanta has misread and misunderstood certain parts of the record.

As regards palaeography and orthography, the present inscription resembles the other epigraphs cited above. The resemblance of the document with other Bengal records to which we have referred is particularly close with the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur copper-plate inscription. The reason is that these two records were issued from the same place within a few years' interval by the same executive officer (*Āyuktaka*) and the board of administration (*adhikaraṇa*) of the same area. The present charter was issued in the Gupta year 128 (447 A. D.) while the date of the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate is the Gupta year 120 (440 A. D.), i.e., the latter epigraph is only about eight years earlier than the former. Both the documents were issued from Pūrṇakauśikā which was the headquarters of the territorial and administrative unit called Śṛṅgavera-vīthī. The officer in charge of the *vīthī* or subdivision, who issued the record, was *Āyuktaka* Acyuta (called Acyutadāsa in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate) described as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* (i.e., lord) meaning the contemporary Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I (413-55 A. D.). *Acyuta* is part of the full name *Acyutadāsa.*

Āyuktaka Acyuta and the *adhikaraṇa* issued the document from Pūrṇakauśikā in the Śṛṅgavera-vīthī as an address to the

1. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 290ff., 336ff., 346ff., 352ff., 382ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 130ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 61ff.; Vol. XXI, pp. 81ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 52ff.; Vol. XXXI, pp. 57ff.

chief householders (probably, agriculturists) including the Brāhmaṇas inhabiting Gulmagandhika and Saṁgohālika. The locality called Gulmagandhika is also mentioned in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate under the form Gulmagandhikā, and it is interesting that the latter form is also used in the present epigraph in a few cases. Likewise Saṁgohālika is mentioned in the other inscription with this difference that it is Saṁgohālika and in the singular in the present epigraph, but Saṁgohālī and in the plural in the other. The plural number probably indicates that it was a group of villages.

The address of the *Āyuktaka* and the *adhikaraṇa* to the inhabitants of Gulmagandhika or Gulmagandhikā and Saṁgohālika is to the following purport: This should be known to you that the following three persons of Puṇḍravardhana, viz. the agriculturist householder Kṣemāka who is a resident of Mūlakavastukā, Bhoyila residing at Gulmagandhika and Mahīdāsa residing at the same place (Gulmagandhika) have informed us (i.e. the members of the *adhikaraṇa*) beginning with our following selves—(1) Kumāradeva, (2) Gaṇḍa, (3) Prajāpati, (4) Jyeṣṭhadāman, (5) Yaśoviṣṇu, (6) Umayaśas, (7) Hariśarman, (8) Sarpapālita, (9) Hiraṇyagupta, (10) Kumārayaśas, (11) Kumārabhūti, (12) Śivakuṇḍa, (13) Śiva, (14) a second Śiva, (15) Somaviṣṇu, (16) Satyaviṣṇu, (17) Kaṅkuṭi, (18) Nandadāman, (19) Vīranāga, (20) Nārāyaṇadāsa, (21) Rudra, (22) Bhava, (23) Guha, (24) Acyuta, (25) Kubera, (26) Śarvanāga, (27) Bhavanāga, (28) Śrīdatta, (29) Bhavadatta, (30) Dhanaviṣṇu, (31) Guṇaratha and (32) Naradeva. Nos. 1-4 of this list of the members of the *adhikaraṇa* are called *Vīthī-mahattara* or member of the *Vīthī* council, the rest being called *Kuṭumbin* or agriculturist householder.

Of these 32 names, as many as 18, i.e. Nos. 1-4, 6-8, 10-11, 13-19, 24 and 27, are also found in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate which offers a bigger list of the *Vīthī-mahattaras*. The *Vīthī-mahattara* Umayaśas of that record of 440 A. D. is called a mere *Kuṭumbin* in the present document of 447 A. D. probably because he failed later to be elected to the Board of Elders. It may be noticed that the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate records a grant of land situated in Hastiśīrṣa-Vibhītakī, Gulmagandhikā, Dhānyapāṭalikā and the village-group of Saṁgohālī, while the land granted by the present epigraph was situated in Gulmagandhika or Gulmagandhikā and Saṁgohālika.

The representation of Kṣemāka, Bhoyila and Mahīdāsa contained the following: We are desirous of purchasing one *kulyavāpa* of *apratikara* fallow land for dedicating it as an *akṣaya-nīvī* in favour of (1) the *vihāra* (Buddhist monastery), built for 'the worshipful Arhats', at the *siddhāyatana* at Mecikāmra in the southern part of the *vīthī*, (2) the *vihārikā* (small *vihāra*) built for the worship of 'the Arhats' at Gulmagandhika, and (3) the temple built for the lord Sahasrarasmi (the Sun-god) at Gulmagandhika, the purpose of the gift being the making of provision for *bali* (offerings to creatures), *caru* (offerings to the manes) and *sattra* (reception of guests) and of repairs at the establishments. Since the sale of one *kulyavāpa* of the above type of land at two *dīnāras* is prevalent in your *vīthī*, you may please accept two *dīnāras* from us and let us have one *kulyavāpa* of land.—By the expression 'Arhats', used in the record in the plural[1] the Buddha appears to be indicated, the plural number signifying *gaurava* (venerableness). The expression *apratikara* is often explained as 'without the right of alienation', 'without yield of revenue'; but the word *pratikara* is used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (V. 170) in the sense of a compensatory allowance, so that *apratikara* may really mean 'land for which no comepensatory allowances required to be paid by the government'. *Dīnāra* was the Gupta gold coin.

On receipt of the representation from the three persons, the record-keepers (*pustapāla*), Siṁhanandin and Yaśodāman, reported that the sale of the above type of land at the quoted price was prevalent in the *vīthī* and that the proposal was in order; then Bhīma, the *Kulika* (representative of the artisan class on the board of administration), collected two *dīnāras* from the applicants, and one *kulyavāpa* of land was made over to the three persons. Of the said land, six *droṇavāpas* (i. e. $\frac{3}{4}$ *kulyavāpa*) purchased by all the three persons were entrusted to Balakuṇḍa described as the *Śramaṇak-ācarya*, i. e. Buddhist religious teacher. The area must have been granted in favour of the two Buddhist establishments of which the said monk was apparently in charge. The remaining two *droṇavāpas* (i. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ *kulyavāpa*) of land were purchased by Bhoyila and were given in favour of Sāmbapura which seems to be the name of the religious establishment in which the Sun-god was installed and

1. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep, Gloss*., pp. 26, 259.

worshipped, probably so named because Sāmba, the most celebrated devotee of the Sun-god, was also worshipped in the shrine. It is stated further that out of these two *droṇavāpas* of land, one plot measuring one *droṇavāpa* lay near the temple (i.e. the Sun temple) and was utilised for making a flower-garden for the shrine and for creating its *talavāṭaka*, 'adjoining land', i.e. land granted in favour of a temple, at the time of its foundation, for its maintenance. The Sun temple at Gulmagandhika seems to have been founded by Bhoyila who was an inhabitant of the said village. The popularity of the Sun-god in Bengal in the age of the Guptas is an interesting information supplied by the inscription especially in view of the fact that the earliest Sūrya images discovered in Bengal, assigned to the Gupta age, come from Kumarpur and Niyamatpur in the Rajshahi District which has also yielded the copper plate under study.[1] Of greater interest seems to be the fact that Bhoyila was probably devoted to both the Buddha and the Sun-god.

It is farther said that, out of the one *kulyavāpa* (i.e. 8 *droṇavāpas*) of gift land, an area of seven *droṇavāpas* was situated in the north-eastern part of Gulmagandhika and one in the vicinity of the temple (i.e. the Sun-temple). The boundaries of the gift land are described as—(1) the *kandara* of a tank in the east; (2) the *deva-kandara* of the tank of Dhanaviṣṇu (probably the *Kuṭumbin* of the same name mentioned in the list of the members of the *adhikaraṇa*) in the south; (3) 'Nabhraka's property' in the west; and some *kuṇḍa* or pond in the north. The word *kandara* means a cavity probably for enshrining a deity, so that *kandara* and *deva-kandara* here would mean the same thing. The following section of the inscription contains a prayer to the effect that the *Vyavahārins* or administrators like the *Viṣayapatis* (governors of districts), *Āyuktakas*, *Kuṭumbins* or *Adihkaraṇikas* (members of the board of administration) of any time should be good enough to protect the permanent endowment (*akṣaya-nīvī*) created by the document. This is followed by four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, described as uttered by Vyāsa. The date, viz. the 20th day of the month of Caitra in the year 128 no doubt of the Gupta era, is quoted in line 23. The concluding part of the record states that the document was written by Rudradāsa and that the plate was heated

1. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 456.

(evidently for the purpose of affixing a seal) by a person whose name may be Susiṁha. Rudradāsa either composed the document, or wrote the letters on the plate for facilitating the work of engraving.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record. Puṇḍra-vardhana was the name of a city situated at the site of modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District (East Pakistan) as well as of the province covering North Bengal, of which the headquarters were at the city in question. The name of Śṛṅgavera can be traced in that of the present Singra Police Station in the Natore Sub-Division of the Rajshahi District, East Pakistan. The other places cannot be definitely located.

Now that we have discussed the contents of the Jagadishpur copper-plate inscription, some of Siddhanta's mistakes of reading and interpretation may be mentioned here by way of illustration. In the passage mentioning the applicants for the creation of the permanent endowment, we have read *Puṇḍravardhane ya(ye) Mūlakavastukā-vāstavya-kuṭumbi-Kṣemāka(kaḥ) Gulmagandhika-vāstavya-Bhoyilaḥ tatr-aiva vāstavya-Mahīdāsāviha(sas=tair=iha)*, so that there were three residents of the city of Puṇḍravardhana, viz. (1) the *Kuṭumbin* Kṣemāka hailing from Mūlakavastukā, (2) Bhoyila hailing from Gulmagandhika, and (3) Mahīdāsa hailing from the same locality, i.e. Gulmagandhika. I have regarded the dual number in *Mahidāsāv -iha* as an obvious error, because of the use of *Bhoyilaḥ* in the first case-ending, and have explained the wrong use of the dual number as due to the fact that Bhoyila and Mahīdāsa both hailed from a locality different from Mūlakavastukā. Siddanta reads *Puṇḍravar-dhaneya-Mūlakavastukā-vāstavya-kuṭumbi-kṣemāka* as an epithet of *Gulmagandhika-vāstavya* Bhoyila. I am sorry that this interpretation seems to me quite unconvincing. In the first place, *Puṇḍravardhaneya* in the sense of *Puṇḍravardhana-vāstavya* does not appear to be quite happy. Secondly, it is difficult to believe that the same person would be called not only *Puṇḍravardhaneya* in the sense of *Puṇḍravar-dhana-vāstavya*, but at the same time also *Mūlakavastukā-vāstavya* and *Gulmagandhika-vāstavya*, so that he would be represented as hailing from no less than three places. This seems to be quite unlikely. Thirdly, Kṣemāka (cf. Kṣemaka) is obviously a personal name; but Siddhanta takes it as an adjective of Bhoyila in the sense of 'Śaiva', even though it is not supported by the Sanskrit lexicons.

Siddhanta reads the passage *dakṣiṇāṁśaka(nāṁśake) vīthyā°*, i.e. 'in the southern part of the *vīthī* or subdivision', as *dakṣiṇenā śaka vīthyā°* which does not give any sense.

It is said that three-fourths of the land, which were made a rent-free holding in favour of two Buddhist religious establishments, were entrusted to the *Srava(ma)ṇak-ācārya* (i.e. Buddhist monk apparently in charge of the establishments) whose name was Balakuṇḍa. Siddhanta reads *Śrava(ma)ṇak-ācārya* as *śravaṇaka cāsyā* which he fails to explain. In two defective passages, there is apparently reference to the *devakula* meaning the temple of the Sun-god which received one-fourth of the land. But Siddhanta did not realise it. There are many other minor errors in Siddhanta's transcript.

2. Kalapur Plate assigned to Sāmanta Maruṇḍanātha

Sri Kamalakanta Gupta, M. Sc., B. L., Advocate of Sylhet in East Pakistan, published a book entitled *Copper-plates of Sylhet*, Vol. I (*7th-11th Century A.D.*), in the year 1967. Thanks to the author, copies of the work reached us in India. This work contains a section entitled "Kalapur Copper-plate of Sāmanta Maruṇḍanātha (7th Century A.D.)" at pp. 68-80. The village of Kalapur lies under the jurisdiction of the Srimangal Police Station in the Maulavi Bazar Sub-Division of the Sylhet District. It is said that on the 8th of May, 1963, while a plot of land in the said village was being prepared for sowing, the earthen container, in which the plate had been interred in the earth, broke at the stroke of a spade and a portion of the plate was exposed to view. The owner of the plot of land in question, Sri Mahendra Kumar Deb of Kalapur, brought the matter to the notice of Sri Yasodagovinda Goswami, and the news of the discovery of the inscription soon reached Sri Kamalakanta Gupta who received the plate for study from Sri Goswami. The plate measures 6·8″ by 10·2″ and has a round seal (about 4·4″ in diameter) soldered to its proper right. The writing of the record on the plate is in a very bad state of preservation and the photograph of the obverse of the plate published by Sri Gupta is useless for the purpose of decipherment. Thus the passages deciphered by Sri Gupta cannot be checked with the help of the illustration. The bronze seal affixed to the plate is, however, in a good state of preservation, though its

photograph does not help us in checking the reading of the donor's name embossed on it in a globular space to the proper right of the standing deity at the centre.

The seal bears on its obverse, in relief, the figure of the standing Gajalakṣmī with two elephants on her two sides pouring water on her from two jars lifted by their trunks. Below the two elephants and on the two sides of the goddess are two human figures in a sitting posture with *cāmara* in hands. Below the goddess is the legend *Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya* written in relief in characters of about the sixth century A.D. Above the human figure on the proper right of the goddess is a globular cavity. The upper part of its bed is occupied by the figure of a recumbent bull, and the lower part by the legend in relief which Sri Gupta reads as *Śrī-Maruṇḍanātha.* As indicated above, these letters cannot be read from the illustration published by him. The reverse of the seal represents a full-blown lotus.

The seal affixed to the Kalapur plate reminds us of the seals attached to such seventh-century records of South-East Bengal as the Kailan plate[1] of *Prāptapañcamahāśabda* Śrīdhāraṇarāta and the Tippera plate[2] of *Sāmanta* Lokanātha. The upper part of the space on both these seals has the figure of the goddess Gajalakṣmī standing on a full-blossomed lotus and flanked above on both sides by two elephants holding water jars in their upraised trunks. On the seal of Śrīdhāraṇarāta, below the elephants, are the figures of two devotees who are also found in the act of pouring water, and beneath the Gajalakṣmī device there are two lines of writing in raised letters—(1) *śrī-Samataṭeśvara-pād-ānudhyātasya* (2) *Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya.* Another line, afterwards embossed horizontally on the seal just to the right of the figure of Lakṣmī, reads—*śrī-Śrīdhāraṇarātasya.* The seal of Lokanātha also contains a line reading—*Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya* in a script slightly earlier than that of another line which reads—*Lokanāthasya.*

The seals actually belonged to the *adhikaraṇa*, i. e. the offiice of the board of administrators, attached to the *Kumārāmātya* or the administrative officer (*Amātya*) enjoying the status of a prince of royal blood, who was usually the ruler of a district or its subdivision. The

1. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*. Vol. XXIII, pp. 221ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 301ff.

names of Lokanātha and Śrīdhāraṇarāta were written on the seals apparently to indicate that they had countersigned the original documents afterwards incised on the copper-plates. The importance attached to the feudatory ruler Śrīdhāraṇarāta and Lokanātha may suggest that they had risen to a semi-imdependent status.[1]

The use of slightly earlier characters on the seals is due to the fact that such seals or dies for moulding them were kept ready for use at the office of the *Kumārāmātya* and that they were authenticated by embossing on them the names of the rulers of the time being.

We have said above that the name of the ruler of the Sylhet region about the seventh century A. D., who authenticated the Kalapur plate, has been read by Sri Gupta as *Sāmanta* Maruṇḍanātha, though the reading cannot be verified. Supposing that the reading is correct, Maruṇḍanātha may probably be regarded as another semi-independent subordinate of the Gauḍa king in the south-eastern areas of the latter's kingdom like Lokanātha and the Rātas of the Tippera region (in Samataṭa) and the Khaḍgas originally of the Dacca area in Vaṅga, but later ruling also over Samataṭa.

The passages of the Kalapur copper-plate inscription that have been read by Sri Gupta appear to speak of *Sāmanta* śrī-Maruṇḍanātha-bhaṭṭāraka who was probably preceded in the rule of the area by *Sāmanta-Sainyapati* Śrīnātha. The grant seems to have been made at the request of Jayasvāmin who had previously received one *pāṭaka* of land (equal to 5 *kulyavāpas* or 40 *droṇavāpas*) on which he had built a *maṭha* (temple or monastery) and installed therein an image of the god called *Bhagavat* Anantanārāyaṇa. The land granted by the present charter appears to be meant for the preservation of *bali*, *caru* and *sattra* in the temple of the said god and also for the maintenance of certain *Traividya* Brāhmaṇas. The gift land was created a rent-free holding styled *agrahāra*.

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1. Elsewhere we have suggested that Jayatuṅgavarṣa and Jīvadhāraṇa (father of Śrīdhāraṇa) were refractory feudatories of the *Parameśvara* (i. e. king of Gauḍa) of whom Lokanātha was a faithful subordinate, that Jayatuṅgavarṣa was subdued by Lokanātha on behalf of his overlord who next sent him against Jīvadhāraṇa, and that Jīvadhāraṇa had to pacify Lokanātha and the king of Gauḍa by the cession of territory, offer of money and acceptance of subsidiary alliance. Lokanātha's name may have been inserted in the legend on the seal to indicate the re-assertion of imperial authority over the territory recovered from Jīvadhāraṇa. See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, *loc. cit.*

Among the interesting facts revealed by the record, one is that, although the donor of the grant had the bull as his emblem and was apparently a Śaiva, he had no scruple in creating the *agrahāra* in favour of the god Anantanārāyaṇa, no doubt a form of the god Viṣṇu. We have numerous other cases of this kind even in the inscriptions of Bengal.[1] The fact is that, according to the custom of those days, Jayasvāmin must have paid a sum of money required for the creation of a rent-free holding, and the transaction was completed in the usual way.[2]

Another interesting fact is the name of the ruler—Maruṇḍanātha —if it has been correctly read. The name reminds us of the Muruṇḍas. Indian lirerary tradition refers to Muruṇḍa rule at Pāṭaliputra about the second century A. D. sometime before the rise of the Guptas in the first quarter of the fourth century.[3] Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 145 A. D.) places the Maroundai (supposed to be Muruṇḍa) in the same region.[4] It is thus possible that the Muruṇḍas became powerful in Bihar even before the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva whose dates range between the years 64 (or 67) and 98 (142-76 A.D.). The Chinese annals speak of an ambassador of the king of Fu-nan, who reached, about the second quarter of the third century A. D., the mouth of a large river (probably, the Ganges) after a long voyage from T'eu-kia-li (Takkola in Malay) and went up the river to the capital of the king of the Meu-luen (probably Muruṇḍa), who sent the embassy back with a present of four horses of the Indo-Scythian country.[5] This possibly indicates the continuation of Muruṇḍa rule till the middle of the third century A. D. As the Muruṇḍas are believed to be Scythians, their occupation of Bihar may be explained if it is supposed that they were originally viceroys of the Kuṣāṇas in Bihar or in Eastern India.

1. Note that the Buddhist king Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.) granted four villages in favour of the god Bhagavan-Nannanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka at the request of *Mahāsāmant-ādhipati* Nārāyaṇavarman who had built a temple for the installation of the said god. See Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 16.
2. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 114ff.
3. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 450 ; Sircar, *Some Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History*, pp. 63, 65-66.
4. See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 140. There is some doubt whether Ptolemy mentions Muruṇḍa or Puṇḍra.
5. *Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, ed. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, p. 774.

The existence of the Muruṇḍas[1] in Eastern India is associated with the question of the expansion of Kuṣāṇa rule in the said region. The circulation of Kuṣāṇa gold and copper coins and their imitations in Eastern India is interesting in this connection. Considering the fact that there was practically no pre-Kuṣāṇa gold coinage in India, the reference in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* to the prevalence of the gold coin called 'caltis' in the land watered by the mouths of the Ganges can only mean the Kuṣāṇa coinage.[2] Reference may also be made in this connection to the discovery, in Bengal, of a number of sculptures in which distinct affinities with the Kuṣāṇa art idiom have been recognised.[3] The possibility of the expansion of Kuṣāṇa rule in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa raises the question whether the Kuṣāṇa hold on Eastern India was maintained through the Muruṇḍas.

The name of Maruṇḍanātha also reminds us of that of Queen Muruṇḍadevī or Muruṇḍasvāminī, wife of king Jayanātha, and mother of king Śarvanātha (beginning of the sixth century A. D.) of Uccakalpa in the present Satna region of Madhya Pradesh.[4] While Muruṇḍasvāminī may have been a Muruṇḍa princess, Maruṇḍanātha was possibly born of a princess of the Muruṇḍa clan. His name does not possibly prove the Muruṇḍa occupation of Sylhet.

1. Cf. *Śaka-muruṇḍa* in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 266, text line 23).
2. See Sircar, *Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History*, p. 176 ; also *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 45.
3. Cf. Saraswati, *Early Sculptures of Bengal*, 1962, p. 45.
4. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 128, 132, 138 ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 391.

LECTURE II

Paschimbhag Plate of Śrīcandra, Regnal Years 5

Of the five copper-plate grants of king Śrīcandra of the Candra dynasty of South-East Bengal, discovered before the middle of the present century, four have been already published, viz. the Rampal, Kedarpur, Madanpur and Dhulla plates, the Idilpur plate, which is untraceable now, still remaining unedited.[1] Recently another copper-plate inscription of Śrīcandra was discovered at the village of Paschimbhag in the Sylhet District of East Pakistan. In the year 1958, Sri Binod Bihari Chakravarti accidentally noticed a corner of the plate sticking out of the ground in a vacant plot of land in the said village. The inscribed plate was dug up and, soon afterwards, it passed into the custody of Pandit Syamapada Kavyatirtha Bhattacharya of the village of Bhumiura near Paschimbhag. In 1961, Janab Aminur Rashid Chaudhury of Sylhet acquired it from the Pandit for the Historical and Archaeological Society, Sylhet. The copper-plate inscription, now preserved in the Museum of the said Society, was published with plates by Sri Kamala Kanta Gupta Chaudhury of the Sylhet Bar in the *Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commomoration Volume* (pp. 166ff. and Plates XXXVI-XXXVII) edited by Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah and published by the Dacca Museum in 1966.[2] A few years earlier, the same author published his transcript of the inscription in Bengali characters. Although the preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, certain parts of the published illustration of the writing on both sides of the plate are indistinct. However, the illustration helped us is determining some errors in Sri Gupta Chaudhury's transcript and translation of the epigraph. We then prepared our own transcript and wrote an article on the

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 136ff. (Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, pp. 1ff.) ; Vol. XVII, pp. 188ff, (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 10ff.) ; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51ff., 337ff. ; Vol. XXXIII pp. 134ff. ; cf. Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90 (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67).

2. A copy of this work was available to us as the contributor of a paper to the volume. 'Gupta Chaudhury' sometimes calls himself 'Gupta' only.

inscription for publising it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. In the meantime, Gupta Chaudhury republished the inscription in his book entitled *Copper-plates of Sylhet* (1967), to which reference has been made above and copies of which were available to us in India through the author's courtesy. Sometime afterwards, Sri Gupta Chaudhury was kind enough to supply us with a set of better impresions of the writing which helped us in checking our transcript of the record. We are extremely thankful to Sri Gupta Chaudhury for the said acts of kindness.

The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate having raised rims, the seal affixed to its upper fringe leading to the break in the continuity of the writing in the first two lines both on the obverse and the reverse. The emblem on the seal is the *Dharmacakra* found on the seals not only of the other records of Śrīcandra and of those of the other rulers of the Candra family, but also of those of other Buddhist rulers of Bengal including the Pālas. The legend in the lower part of the surface of the seal reads *śrī-Śrīcandradeva*. The weight of the plate together with the seal is said to be about 11.5 seers (nearly 24 pounds). The charter was issued in the 5th regnal year of Śrīcandra (c. 925-75 A.D.), i.e. about 930 A.D.). This seems to be one of the earliest records of the Candra king whose latest known date, supplied by the Madanpur plate, referred to above, is the regnal year 46.[1]

There are 28 lines of writing on the obverse and 37 on the reverse of the Paschimbhag plate, so that the record is written in 65 lines. The characters, like those in the other grants of Śrīcandra, belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. when Gauḍī was emerging out of Siddhamātṛkā. The engraving is neatly done and credit for it has been rightly claimed on behalf of the engraver Haradāsa in the concluding stanza. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition consists of both prose and verse. Some personal names indicate Prakrit and Deśī influence.

We know that the introductory stanzas in Śrīcandra's charters are not exactly the same in number and composition in the different records, though several verses are common to all of them. Thus, of the 15 introductory stanzas in the present record, some

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 337ff.

well-known verses found in most of the other epigraph are absent while seven stanzas of this epigraph are not noticed in any of the hitherto published charters of the king.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the benedictory expression *svasti.* Then follow the fifteen introductory stanzas.

Verse 1, also found at the beginning of the other charters of Śrīcandra, is in adoration of the Buddhist trinity—the Jina (i.e. Lord Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha. This is no doubt because the Candras were followers of the Buddhist faith. The said verse is followed in some of Śrīcandra's records by another saying that Pūrṇacandra, the progenitor of the dynasty, was born in the family of the Candras of Rohitāgiri and that his name occurred in documents engraved on the pedestals of images as well as on pillars of victory and plates of copper. This shows that the Candra family hailed from Rohitāgiri (modern Rohtasgadh in the Shahabad District, Bihar) and Pūrṇacandra was a ruling chief of some importance. Instead of this verse, the said Pūrṇacandra is introduced in our epigraph in another stanza (verse 2) which is found in the Kedarpur plate wherein, however, it was not fully legible. It says that there was a fortunate person named Pūrṇacandra whose shameless enemies, on being defeated, took shelter under the unique umbrella created by the dust raised by his army.

Verse 3, which is found in the Kedarpur plate, introduces Suvarṇacandra as the son of Pūrṇacandra and compares him with pure gold even though, unlike gold, he was neither tested in fire nor weighed on balance. We know that some other grants of Śrīcandra introduce Suvarṇacandra in a different stanza stating that the said prince became a follower of the Buddha as if because he had been born in the family of the Moon-god who bears on his lap the Buddha born as hare in a previous birth (*Śaśaka-jātaka*). Suvarṇacandra may have been the first Buddhist king of the family. Verse 4 is also found in several of Śrīcandra's charters and states that Suvarṇacandra was so named by the people because, when he was in his mother's womb, the queen satisfied her longing by seeing the rising moon and, as a result, obtained the son comparable to the moon in beauty.

Verse 5, which is not found in the published records of Śrīcandra, indroduces king Trailokyacandra (c. 905-25 A.D.), whose

great fame spread over the three worlds, as the son of Suvarṇacandra. The transcript and translation of this stanza as published by Gupta Chaudhury are not free from errors. Trailokyacandra is here compared once to the moon whose rise caused the oozing away of the moonstones that were the eyes of [the heroes] captured by him. He is also said to have been afraid of scandal and to have resembled the full evening twilight to the lotuses that were the congregations [of his rivals]. Trailokya was like the rising clouds to the groups of thirsty *Cātaka* birds (i.e. was liberal to the supplicants). He was also the watcher of the activities of his soldiers and his subjects, and this reminds us of Dilīpa's description in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (I. 17) as the restrainer of his subjects from moving away from the right track. The mention of soldiers in this connection is interesting because they generally committed atrocities in the land of the defeated enemy.[1]

The next stanza (verse 6) is found in some of Śrīcandra's published charters and states that the said king (Trailokyacandra), being desirous of conquering the earth bounded by the four oceans, but having no greed for wealth, destroyed his enemies by his sword.

Verse 7 throws welcome light on the capital of the Samataṭa country. The Ashrafpur (Dacca District) copper-plate grants[2] of king Devakhaḍga (middle of the seventh century A. D.) of the Khaḍga dynasty of East Bengal were issued from the royal residence at Karmānta which may have been the capital of the Khaḍgas. Because a gold-covered Sarvāṇī image,[3] caused to be made by Devakhaḍga's queen Prabhāvatī, was discovered at Deulbadi about 14 miles to the south of Comilla (Tippera District) and the official designation *Karmāntapāla* occurring in the Nartteśvara image inscription[4] found at Bharella under the Badkamta Police Station of the Tippera District was understood as 'the Lord of Karmānta' (though it really means 'Superintendent of the royal barns'), N. K. Bhattasali was inclined to believe that Karmānta was the capital of the Samataṭa country (which, in his opinion, covered the Tippera and Noakhali Districts together with the eastern half of the

1. Cf. Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind*,. p. 57.
2. *Proc. ASB*, 1890, p. 249 ; 1891, p. 119 ; *Mem. ASB*, Vol. I, pp. 89ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 359.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

Mymensing and Dacca Districts and the greater part of the Sylhet District) and that the city stood at the site of modern Badkamta (literally 'the Bigger Kamta') about three miles from Bharella.[1] It is difficult to accept all these views. In the first place, 'the eastern half of the Dacca and Mymensing Districts and the greater part of the Sylhet District' do not appear to have formed any part of Samataṭa. Secondly, the discovery of the Kailan copper-plate[2] inscription of king Śrīdhāraṇarāta of Samataṭa shows that, about the middle of the seventh century A. D. when the Khaḍgas were ruling over the Dacca region of Vaṅga, the Rātas were holding sway over Samataṭa, although very soon Devakhaḍga extirpated Rāta rule and annexed Samataṭa to his dominions. It therefore seems that Devakhaḍga's capital was somewhere in the Dacca region. Thirdly, the said Kailan inscription and the Tippera plate[3] of Bhavadeva suggest that the capital of Samataṭa in the seventh and the following centuries was not at Karmānta, but at the city of Devaparvata on the river Kṣīrodā. This river is the modern Khira or Khirnai which is the dried up river course traceable as branching off from the Gomati just west of the town of Comilla. It flows by the eastern side of the Mainamati hills and skirts their southern end near the Chandimura peak where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hills. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Mainamati hills where the ancient hill-fort of Devaparvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Dakatiya river.[4] Further light has now been thrown on Devaparvata, the capital of the Samataṭa country during the early medieval period, by verse 7 of the Paschimbhag plate under study.

The stanza which mentions the city of Devaparvata on the Kṣīrodā river in the Samataṭa country while describing the exploits of Trailokyacandra (c. 905-25 A.D.), the father of Śrīcandra, runs as follows :—

Kṣīrodām=anu Devaparvata iti śrīmat=tad=etat=puraṁ
yatr=āgantu-janasya vismaya-rasaḥ Kamboja-vārtt-ādbhutaiḥ /
Lālambī-vanam=atra nāvika-śatair=anviṣya siddh-auṣadhi-
vyāhārā iti ha śrutās=Samataṭan=nirjjitya yat-sainikaiḥ //

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221ff.
3. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 83ff.
4. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 225-26.

The verse may be interpreted as follows: After having conquered Samataṭa, Trailokyacandra's soldiers exclaimed, "That prosperous Devaparvata lying on the Kṣīrodā is this city where the visitor has the feeling of astonishment at the wonderful reports about the Kambojas," and having searched the Lālambī forest in the area through hundreds of boatmen, they heard the tales about the superbly efficacious medicinal herbs.—Unfortunately, Gupta Chaudhury commits two errors in reading the verse: (1) He reads *Kṣīrodām=anu* as *Kṣīrod-āmbu* (which violates the metre), and (2) the word *nāvika* is read by him as *vātika*. His translation of the stanza consequently runs as follows: "In consequence of the strange news of Kamboja, the newcomers to this illustrious capital, like the venerable mountain (i. e. the Mandara Mountain) in the waters of the Kṣīroda [sea] were struck with feelings of wonder, whose soldiers conquered Samataṭa where was situated the forest of Lālamvī traditionally said to have been filled with sure medicinal herbs sought for by hundreds of persons suffering from morbid affectation of the nervous system."

The verse offers much valuable information. In the first place, it speaks of the conquest of the Samataṭa country, i. e. the present Tippera-Noakhali region of South-East Bengal within East Pakistan, by the Candra king Trailokyacandra. It has to be remembered in this connection that Trailokyacandra is sometimes described as the mainstay of the royal fortunes of the kings of Harikela (i. e. Sylhet) even though he is represented as the king essentially of Candradvīpa.[1] The claims of Trailokyacandra have now to be read along with his son Śrīcandra's rule over Vaṅga, Samataṭa and Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) with his capital at Vikramapura in Vaṅga. In the second place, the reference to Devaparvata in the Paschimbhag plate supports the evidence of the Kailan and Tippera plates and suggests that the city lying on the bank of the Kṣīrodā river was the capital of the Samataṭa country. The reference to hundreds of boatmen in the verse under study reminds us of the description of the Kṣīrodā river in the Kailan plate as *naubhir=aparimitābhir=uparacita-kūlā*. Thirdly, shortly before the Candra invasion of Samataṭa, the city of Devaparvata seems to have been devastated by the Kambojas. The name Kamboja

1. Cf. *ādhāro Harikela-rāja-kakuda-cchatra-smitānāṁ śriyāṁ yaś=candr-opapade babhūva nṛpatir=dvīpe Dilīp-opamaḥ* (N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol, III, p. 4, text lines 9-10). See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 338.

is probably the Sanskritised form of the name of the Koch people of North Bengal,[1] a few kings of the same clan being known from their inscriptions to have been ruling in the northern and south-western regions of Bengal in the tenth century A. D.[2] Lastly, the Lālambī-vana, which is no doubt the present Lālmāi in the name Mainamati-Lalmai ridge, seems to have been famous for its medicinal herbs. Its mention in the present context throws welcome light on the controversy regarding the identification of Rohitāgiri mentioned in Candra records as the original home of the Candras. Most scholars identified Rohitāgiri with modern Rohtasgadh in the Shahabad District of Bihar; but N. K. Bhattasali suggested that *Rohitāgiri* might be the Sanskritised form of *Lālmāi*, i.e. *Lāl-māṭi* or 'red earth'. Of course, the modification of *Lāl-māṭi* to *Lāl-māi* seems to be philologically improbable. In any case, the verse under study mentioning *Lālmāi* as *Lālambī* shows that Bhattasali's suggestion is wrong and that it offers no challenge to the identification of Rohitāgiri with Rohtasgadh.[3]

Verse 8 of the Pashchimbhag plate is also interesting to the student of history. It is not found in any other of Śrīcandra's grants, and there are likewise errors in Gupta Chaudhury's reading and translation of the verse. It says that the forces of the victorious Trailokyacandra enjoyed, out of curiosity, the famous curds of the Vaṅga country at the village of Kṛṣṇaśikharin and its hamlets, next drank the waters of the river Suruṅgā and the allied streams in the forests girdling Mt. Vindhya and finally reached Mt. Malaya where their own tumult became mixed up with the dull sound of the flow of waters of the Kāverī in which stones were falling from the Malaya. This is the conventional account of Trailokya-

1. The Koch people now call themselves Rājvaṁśī. See Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, p. 167. Another Mongoloid people called Mech ruled Assam from the middle of the 7th to the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. Their tribal name was Sanskritised as Mleccha.
2. See the Bangadh pillar inscription of Kuñjaraghaṭāvarṣa, the lord of Gauḍa, belonging to the Kamboja race (Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1726) and the Irda (Balasore District, Orissa) plate of the Buddhist *P. M. P.* Nayapāla who belonged to the Kamboja family, was the younger brother of the chief Nārāyaṇapāla and the successor of *P. M. P.* Rājyapāla, was born of the queen Bhāgyadevī and granted land in the Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala in the Vardhamāna-bhukti (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 155ff.).
3. Cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 194.

candra's *digvijaya* in the secondary *cakravarti-kṣetra* of South India described here as bounded by the Vaṅga country, the Vindhya and Malaya mountain ranges and the river Kāverī.[1] It has little historical basis and merely indicates the fact that Trailokyacandra claimed to be an independent monarch. The river Kāverī rises in the Western Ghats and runs through Coorg and the other Districts of Southern Mysore as well as the Coimbatore, Salem, Tiruchirapalli and Tanjavur Districts of Tamil Nadu to fall into the Bay of Bengal. According to the Purāṇas, it springs from the Sahya and not from Malaya;[2] but the *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] mentions it along with the Malaya and this suggests the inclusion of the southern part of the Western Ghats upto the source of the Kāverī in Coorg within the Malaya range, even though the Malaya is often identified with the Travancore hills. The village of Kṛṣṇaśikharin in the Vaṅga country and the Suruṅgā-nadī flowing through the Vindhyan region do not appear to be known from any other source. It seems that the curds of Vaṅga, in which the division (*bhāga*) of Vikramapura (Dacca District) was situated according to early medieval records,[4] had a name in Candradvīpa (Buckergunge District) which was Trailokyacandra's original dominions. Gupta Chaudhury reads *caṅga* for *Vaṅga* in the passage *bhuktvā Vaṅga-dadhīni Kṛṣṇaśikhari-grāmeṣu* and translates it as 'drinking nice coagulated milk out of curiosity in villages ensconced amidst black hills'.[5]

Verse 9 introduces Trailokya's beloved queen named Kāñcikā. The stanza, with some variations, occurs in several other records of Śrīcandra, though the queen's name in all those cases is Kāñcanā, and not Kāñcikā. The queen was probably known by both the names, Kāñcanā being apparently more popular than

1. Cf. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 13-15. Southern Bengal here seems to be included in the South Indian *cakravarti-kṣetra*.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
3. See IV, 41. 14-15.
4. Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 125, 137, 146.
5. Trailokyacandra's success against Vaṅga was formerly conjectured on the basis of the following passage read by A. H. Dani in some of the newly discovered Candra records:

   tasy = ābhyunnati-śālinaḥ pracayino Vaṅgasya muktā-maṇiḥ.

   Unfortunately, as we shall see below, the word *vaṅśasya* (*vaṁśaya*) has been wrongly read here as *Vaṅgasya*.

Kāñcikā.[1] Verse 10, found also in several other records, introduces Śrīcandra as the son of Trailokyacandra compared to Indra, from the said queen and states that the prince was born on the auspicious configuration of planets called *rāja-yoga*. Verse 11 is likewise found in some other grants of Śrīcandra and says that the said king brought the earth under his sole umbrella and put all his enemies in prison-houses.

The following three stanzas are not found in any of the other charters of Śrīcandra and their text and translation published by Gupta Chaudhury are erroneous. Verse 12 says that Śrīcandra's forces, in the course of their conquest of the Kāmarūpa country (i.e. Assam), entered the woodlands near the Lohitya (i.e. the Brahmaputra) which were covered by the clouds that were the flying she-pigeons, had banana groves that were tawny owing to the ripening of the leaves or fruits and in which monkeys were roaming, had many plains on which drowsy yaks were ruminating leisurely, and were dark owing to the black aloe trees.[2] The importance of the verse lies in the fact that it refers to an invasion of Kāmarūpa by Śrīcandra, which is not mentioned in any of his published records, although the Paschimbhag plate is one of his earliest grants. As we shall see below, the copper-plate grants of his successors refer to such achievements; cf. verse 5 of both the Mainamati plates of Laḍahacandra discussed in the following lecture.

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1. The words *kānchā* and *kānchī* are used by the Nepalese in the senses respectively of the youngest brother and sister or boy and girl. If the queen's name can be taken to have derived from Nepalese *kānchī*, she may have been a Nepalese princess. Nepalese *kānchā* is the same as Bengali *kāṃcā* and Hindi *kaccā* (fem. *kaccī*) used in the sense of raw, unripe, immature (opp. *pākā*, *pakkā*, ripe, mature); cf. Bengali *kaci*; also *kāṃcā-rāṃḍī* (i.e. a young widow). See Turner's *Comp. Dict.*, s.v. *kacca*,

2. Cf.
Yat-sainyaiḥ kila Kāmarūpa-vijaye rohat-kapotī-ghanā
nirvviṣṭāḥ bhalapāka-piṅga-kadalī-kuñja-bhramad-vānarāḥ /
romanth-ālasa-baddha-nidra-camarī-saṁsevita-prāntarāḥ
Lohityasya vanasthalī-parisarāḥ kāl-āguru-śyāmalāḥ //
The word *bhalapāka* is apparently a mistake for *dalapāka* or *phalapāka*; but the *visarga* at the end of the previous word probably supports *phalapāka*. Gupta.Chaudhury speaks of 'monkeys roaming in *bhalapas* (i.e. marking-nut trees), *Kapiṅga* and plantain groves'.

Verse 13 states that Śrīcandra's soldiers, in their eagerness to conquer Uttarāpatha, recited the following for a long time: "This is that Citraśilā river covered with beautiful storax plants and this is the river Puṣpabhadrā marked by valleys full of the rustling sound of the palmyra leaves," as if they were learned Brāhmaṇas reciting hymns at the proper time at the sight of the local deities on the Himagiri (Himalayas). Of the two rivers, the Citraśilā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the Puṣpabhadrā in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[1] the latter now being a small stream to the north of the Brahmaputra near Gauhati.[2] It is well known that Uttarāpatha was the name of the northern division of India, which included the Himalayan region. The author of the inscription apparently locates the Kāmarūpa country (also called Prāgjyotiṣa) in Uttarāpatha. This is supported by the *Mahābhārata* and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, while the Purāṇas and later works like Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* locate Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyotiṣa in the eastern division.[3] Like verse 12, this stanza also refers to Śrīcandra's invasion of Assam.

Verse 14 states how king Śrīcandra propitiated the god of war by his own deeds of valour and brushed off the *patrāṅguli* (lines of painting drawn with a finger dipped in coloured sandal paste, etc.) decoration on the breasts of the Yavana women, made the cheeks and abdomen of the Hūṇa women covered with the wounds of scarification carried out in grief[4] and put an end to the fickleness in the glances of the Utkala women intoxicated by toddy. Here we have an indirect reference to Śrīcandra's victory over the Yavanas (some foreign people, probably meaning here the Muhammadans), Hūṇas (settled in the western and north-western regions of India) and Utkalas (people of

1. See Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *citra* (*Mahābhārata*, VI, 9.30) and *puṣpa*. Gupta Chaudhury fails to notice the reference to the Citraśilā river in the stanza. He interprets Uttarāpatha as 'the northern region'.
2. Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 168.
3. See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, pp. 65, 69, 103. Among later authors, Kalhaṇa of Kashmir (in Uttarāpatha) places Prāgjyotiṣa in Uttarāpatha. Cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 163-76.
4. In the passage *śoka-pracchana-jarjaram*, Gupta Chaudhury reads *pracchanna* which does not suit the metre. He also misses what the author of the epigraphic text says about the Hūṇa custom.

Orissa), though the language appears to indicate the poet's skill in versification rather than his love for historical truth. The womenfolk of the Yavana and Utkala countries are described as fond respectively of painting their breasts and of drinking toddy. It may be mentioned here that painting the breasts was quite popular with Indian women,[1] though we are not sure whether the custom was also prevalent among foreigners.[2] More interesting is the custom of the Hūṇa widows scarifying their cheeks and the lower front of their body especially because Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 68) speaks of the same custom as *kapola-pāṭana* (scarification of the cheeks) which was popular with the Hūṇa widows.[3] The purpose of the Hūṇa custom was apparently to render the widows ugly so that nobody may be eager to woo them.

Verse 15, with which the introductory part of the inscription ends, is found in a few of Śrīcandra's other grants. It says that the multitude of dust arising as a result of the Candra king's battles reached heaven, and there it was received by the Elephants of the Quarters who have a longing for it, but was avoided by the gods who remained at a distance because they are unable to shut their eyes,[4] and also lent a false whiteness to the black hair of the heavenly damsels.

The above introductory section is followed by the text of the grant proper in prose which is a remarkable document of great importance for the reconstruction of the cultural history of Eastern India as we shall see.

The charter was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura which lay in Vaṅga and to which the capital must have been transferred from Candradvīpa before the 5th regnal year of Śrīcandra either by himself or by his father. The donor of the grant is then introduced as *Paramasaugata Parameśvara*

1. Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII. 55. It was also called *patra*, *patravallī*, *patrabhaṅga*, *patralekhā*, *patravallarī*, etc.
2. If it can be believed that the Yavanas are the same as the Mlecchas of Prāgjyotiṣa, they may be regarded as an indigenous people of India.
3. See *Śatābdakaumudī* (Nagpur Museum Centenary Volume), 1964, p. 131; also Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 216-18.
4. Cf., *animiṣa* or *animeṣa*, 'a god' (*cf. Śiśupālavadha.* V. 27); also Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 57, referring to the *Mahābhārata*, III. 57. 23f.

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrīcandradeva who meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of *Paramasaugata Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Trailokyacandradeva. It may be noticed that, in the later grants of Śrīcandra, his father is mentioned only with the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, though he is endowed with the full imperial style in the present epigraph. The donor's address in respect of the grant is then issued to the people associated with (*samupagata*)[1] the three *viṣayas* or districts of Garalā, Pogāra and Candrapura together with the half (or parts) of Veḍikā attached to Satala-Vargaja, all within the *maṇḍala* (division) of Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) belonging to the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana. It is well known that the territory of Puṇḍravardhana originally comprised the districts of North Bengal and had its headquarters at modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District of East Pakistan, though its jurisdiction later extended, probably due to the expansion of the Pāla empire, over Vaṅga comprising the *bhāga* of Vikramapura in the Dacca region and also over the Khāḍī-viṣaya in the present 24-Parganas District. The Mehar plate[2] has shown that Samataṭa formed a part of the same Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, and we now learn from the Paschimbhag plate that the said *bhukti* also included the Śrīhaṭṭa-meṇḍala.

As in the other records of Śrīcandra, the people addressed by the king are enumerated as follows :[3] (1) *Rājñī* (queen), (2) *Rāṇaka* (subordinate ruler), (3) *Rājaputra* (prince), (4) *Mahāsāṇdhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace), (5) *Mahāsainyapati* (commander of forces), (6) *Mahāmudrādhikṛta* (keeper of the seals), (7) *Mahākṣapaṭalika* (record-keeper), (8) *Pādamūlika* (private secretary), (9) *Mahāpratīhāra* (minister on attendance), (10) *Mahātantrādhikṛta* (officer in charge of administration), (11) *Mahāsarvādhikṛta* (Chief Minister), (12) *Mahābalādhikaraṇika* (officer of the military department), (13) *Mahāvyūhapati* (officer of the military department), (14) *Maṇḍalapati* (governor of a division), (15) *Koṭṭapāla* (keeper of a fort), (16) *Dauḥsādhasādhanika* (officer in charge of emergency), (17)

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1. For the meaning of the expression, cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 161ff. ; also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XXXV, pp. 287ff.
2. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp.:182-91.
3. For the official designations, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s. v. ; also *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 351ff.

Cauroddharaṇika (officer in charge of the recovery of stolen goods), (18) *Naubala-hasty-aśva-go-mahiṣ-āj-āvik-ādi-vyāpṛtaka* (officer in charge of navy, elephants, horses, cattle, buffalo, goat, sheep, etc.), (19) *Gaulmika* (officer in charge of an outpost), (20) *Śaulkika* (toll collector), (21) *Dāṇḍika* (police officer), (22) *Daṇḍapāśika* (policeman), (23) *Daṇḍanāyaka* (judicial or military officer), (24) *Viṣayapati* (governor of a district), and others mentioned in the *adhyakṣa-pracāra* (notification regarding the heads of departments), but not indicated in the grant such as officials of the categories of *Cāṭa* (head-constable) and *Bhaṭa* (constable), the rural folk and agriculturists headed by the Brāhmaṇas. These were duly honoured, exhorted and ordered in respect of the grant made.

It is then stated that the said three *viṣayas* were bounded in the east by the embankment at Bṛhatkoṭṭa, in the south by the Maṇi-nadī, in the west by the canals called Jujju and Kāṣṭhaparṇī and the river called Vetraghaṅghī, and in the north by the Kosiyāra-nadī. Of these, the Kosiyāra is the well-known Kusiyara river running through the Sylhet District, and the big area, comprising more than three *viṣayas* or districts and forming the gift land, was situated to the south of the said river. According to Gupta Chaudhury,[1] this river is mentioned as Kauśikā in the Nidhanpur plates and the Candrapurī-viṣaya known from that record is the same as the Candrapura-viṣaya of the present epigraph. It should be noted, however, that the Nidhanpur plates mention the *agrahāra-kṣetra* of Mayūraśālmala in the Candrapurī-viṣaya as bounded by the dried up Kauśikā in the east, south-east and north-west. Of the other names, Gupta Chaudhury identifies the Maṇi-nadī with the present Manu river, the Jujju (read by him as *Jujnu*) canal with the modern Jujnachhara and the Vetraghaṅghī with the present Ghunghi river, all in the Sylhet District. The Manu river rises in the Tippera hills and runs through the Maulavi Bazar Sub-Division. The Jujnachhara is a small stream rising from the hills on the western border of Maulavi Bazar and flowing through the Habiganj Sub-Division. Gupta Chaudhury says that, in the same region, there are two rivers called Batari and Ghungi,[2] and the name of the former may be reflected in the first part of the old name Vetraghaṅghī.

1. P. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, 26.
2. See his paper in the *Yugavāṇī* (Sylhet), dated 14. 8. 1964.

Next it is stated that the area within the said boundaries was transformed into a *brahmapura* (Brāhmaṇa settlement) which was given the name Śrīcandrapura no doubt after the king's name. In the said Śrīcandrapura, the following grants were then announced.

The first block of land measuring 120 *pāṭakas* was granted to the god Brahman for his *maṭha* or temple, the existence of which in Sylhet during the 10th century is of considerable importance, because independent worship of the said god was not popular in ancient and medieval India.[1] Moreover, the details of the grant of 120 *pāṭakas* of land, given in the charter, show that the *maṭha* was a big religious establishment, the like of which is hardly noticed in North Indian records. Out of the said land, distribution was made as follows: I.—10 *pāṭakas* (each measuring 10 *droṇas*) were allotted to a teacher for exposition of the *Cāndra* (i.e. the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* or the grammar of Candragomin); II.—10 *pāṭakas* for the *pāl* (maintenance) and *ghuṭikā* ('chalk', expenses) for 10 students; III.—5 *pāṭakas* for the daily offering of food to 5 guest (*apūrva*, i.e. *atithi*) Brāhmaṇas; IV.—1 *pāṭaka* to the Brāhmaṇa who built the temple; V.—1 *pāṭaka* to the accountant or astrologer (*gaṇaka*); VI.—2½ *pāṭakas* to the scribe (*kāyastha*); VII.—½ *pāṭaka* to each one of the 4 florists, 2 oilmen (*tailikas*), 2 potters (*kumbhakāra*), 5 players on the drum called *kahala* (*kāhalika*), 2 conchshell-blowers (*śaṅkha-vādaka*), 2 players on the big drum called *ḍhakkā*, 8 players on the *drāgaḍa* (kettle-drum), 22 servants (*karmakara*) and coblers (*carma-kāra*) (i.e. in all 23½ *pāṭakas*); VIII.—2 *pāṭakas* to the dancer (*naṭa*); IX.—2 *pāṭakas* to each of the 2 carpenters (*sūtradhāra*), 2 masons (*sthapati*), and 2 blacksmiths (*karmakāra*)—(i.e. in all 12 *pāṭakas*); X—¾ *pāṭaka* to each of the 8 maid-servants (*ceṭikā*, probably *devadāsī*)—(i.e. 6 *pāṭakas* in all); and XI.—47 *pāṭakas* for repairs (*navakarman*) to be carried in the temple establishment. This accounts for 120 *pāṭakas*.

It is interesting to note that a Brāhmaṇa, whose name is not mentioned, was the founder of the *maṭha* and apparently arranged for the creation of the free holding in favour of the temple by depositing the usual fee to the king's treasury.[2] The allotment of a plot of land to him reminds us of a similar provision made in the

1. *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 365-66.
2. Cf. *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 114ff.

Kailan plate.[1] The mention of a *pāṭaka* as made of 10 *droṇas* is interesting since the Gunaighar (Tippera District) plate of 507 A.D. mentions a *pāṭaka* as equal to 40 *droṇavāpas* (*droṇas*).[2] The *pāṭaka* of the present inscription was therefore ¼ of the *pāṭaka* of the Gunaighar plate, if of course the *droṇavāpa* indicated the same area in both the cases. The *droṇavāpa* seems to have been originally equal to about 5 *bighās* or roughly 1½ acres of land.[3] If such was the case, the *pāṭaka* of the present epigraph was not less than 15 acres and 120 *pāṭakas* at least about 1800 acres. Another interesting fact in this section is the reference to the popularity of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. This reminds us of the tradition according to which its author, the celebrated Buddhist savant Candragomin (5th-6th century A.D.), lived in Candradvīpa, the original territory of the Candra dynasty, for many years.[4]

The second block of land measuring 280 *pāṭakas* was granted in favour of the god Vaiśvānara (Agni), Yogeśvara (aspect of Śiva), Jaimani (often called Jaimini in other works) and Mahākāla (aspect of Śiva), worshipped in the four *deśāntarīya* (foreign) *maṭhas* and the four Vaṅgāla *maṭhas*. The installation of the same group of four deities in two adjacent establishments is curious and may be due to rivalry between the Vaṅgālas and outsiders. The reference to the temple of the fire-god Agni-Vaiśvānara is interesting, since there is little evidence of the independent worship of this deity. The mention of Jaimani's temple is, however, still more interesting, because it was hardly known that the celebrated founder of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā school of philosophy was deified and worshipped.[5] Of course, the deification is not unnatural since we hear of the existence of a temple at Gaṅgāsāgara at the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī, in which Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy,

1. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 236.
2. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 416.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 414.
4. See *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 295ff. ; *Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. Sircar, p. 130 ; also Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 99.
5. Jaimini is one of the five whose names remove the fear of crash of thunder. Cf. *Jaiminiś=ca Sumantraś=ca Vaiśampāyana eva ca /*
Pulastyaḥ Pulahaś=c=aiva pañc=aite vajra-vārakāḥ //
quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v.

was under worship.[1] But Kapila's worship at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the sea may be explained by the fact that, according to tradition, he was indirectly responsible for the excavation of the sea.[2] Whether there was any local tradition associating Jaimani with Sylhet cannot, however, be determined. Another interesting point in this section is the reference to four Vaṅgāla-maṭhas which were distinguished from another category of *maṭhas* called *deśāntarīya* or foreign. We know that Candradvīpa, over which Śrīcandra's father became king, was also known as Vaṅgāla-deśa and that the name Vaṅgāla extended over wide areas of Eastern Bengal with the expansion of the Candra dominions.[3] It is thus possible that the Vaṅgāla-maṭhas of Sylhet were built by the local people or by certain persons of Śrīcandra's home territory of Vaṅgāla or Candradvīpa. It is interesting to remember in this connection that Śrīcandra issued his Madanpur charter in favour of a Brāhmaṇa who was an inhabitant of the king's own country (*eka-deśa-bhava*).[4]

The details of the distribution of the 280 *pāṭakas* of land speak of the following persons attached to the two groups of four *maṭhas* each, as referred to above. I.—10 *pāṭakas* to each of the 8 teachers of the 4 Vedas, viz. *Ṛk*, *Yajus*, *Sāman* and *Atharvan* (i.e. 80 *pāṭakas* in all); II.—5 *pāṭakas* for each group of 5 students in each of the 8 *maṭhas* (i.e. 40 *pāṭakas*); III.—½ *pāṭaka* to each of the following in each one of the eight *maṭhas*—the florist, the barber, the oilman and the washerman and the 8 servants and coblers (i.e. 16+32=48 *pāṭakas*): IV.—¾ *pāṭaka* to each of the 2 maid-servants in each of the 8 *maṭhas* (12 *pāṭakas* in all); V.—10 *pāṭakas* for repairs to each one of the eight *maṭhas* (i.e. 80 *pāṭakas* in all); VI.—2 *pāṭakas* to the Mahattara-Brāhmaṇa in each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 4 *pāṭakas* in all); VII.—1½ *pāṭakas* to the superintendent of each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 3 *pāṭakas* in all); VIII.—2½ *pāṭakas* to the scribe of each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 5 *pāṭakas*); IX.—1 *pāṭaka* to the astrologer or accountant of each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 2 *pāṭakas*); and

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1. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 181-82.
2. Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XXIII. 3.
3. *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 132. Vaṅgāla seems to have been the original territory also of the Pālas.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 58, text line 35.

X.—3 *pāṭakas* to the physician attached to each of the 2 groups of *maṭhas* (i.e. 6 *pāṭakas*). This accounts for 280 *pāṭakas*.

The two groups' of 4 *maṭhas* each were big religious and educational establishments, each group receiving 140 *pāṭakas* of land whereas the similar *maṭha* of the god Brahman alone received 120 *pāṭakas*. The existence of such institutions is sometimes referred to in South Indian epigraphs, and we have there even now similar establishments like that of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara at Tirupati in the Chittur District, Andhra Pradesh. Although there must have been similar institutions in Northern India, they are rarely mentioned in literary and epigraphic records.

The third block of land, left over after the distribution of the first and second blocks (measuring 120+280=400 *pāṭakas*), was granted in favour of 6000 Brāhmaṇas headed by the following 38 names—(1) Vāvasadatta, (2) Harṣa, (3) Śekhara, (4) Viśvarūpa, (5) Bhānudatta, (6) Īśāna, (7) Dhanyanāga, (8) Nanda, (9) Yaśas, (10) Caṅga, (11) Govardhana, (12) Siṭabhadatta, (13) Kamalanandin, (14) Savitāra, (15) Māṇikya, (16) Kāmuka, (17) Bhīmapāla, (18) Ananta, (19) Vatsadhara, (20) Nandaghoṣa, (21) Śrīdhara, (22) Rāma, (23) Śivabandhu, (24) Maṅgala, (25) Vedo, (26) Dhavala, (27) Vinhudatta, (28) Śāntidāman, (29) Gargaśarman, (30) Mahīndrasoma, (31) Ravikara, (32) Bhānu, (33) Nārāyaṇa, (34) Gargagupta, (35) Śaśidatta, (36) Hari, (37) Jayadatta and (38) Garga. The Brāhmaṇa donees belonged to various *gotras* and *pravaras* and were the students of different *śākhās* of the four *caraṇas*. The 6000 Brāhmaṇas received 6000 equal shares. An interesting feature of the list of 38 Brāhmaṇas quoted above is that the family names of many of them were stereotyped name-endings and were such as are prevalent now among the non-Brāhamaṇa communities of Bengal, e.g., Datta, Nāga, Nandin, Pāla, Dhara, Ghoṣa, Dāman, Soma, Kara and Gupta, the only typical Brāhmaṇa surname being Śarman. It has been suggested that most of the families having the present non-Brāhmaṇa cognomens were later merged in the non-Brāhmaṇa communities like the Vaidya and Kāyastha.[1] *Vāvasadatta* may be a mistake for *Vāsavadatta*.

It is stated that the grant of the three *viṣayas* together with Veḍikā and with the boundaries demarcated as above was made by the king by means of the copper-plate charter in accordance with the

1. Cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 424.

bhūmi-cchidra-nyāya (principle of free enjoyment of land by one who brings it under cultivation for the first time) with libations of water as a permanent gift, lasting as long as the moon, sun and earth would endure. It was made in favour of the gods Brahman, Agni (Vaiśvānara), Yogeśvara, Jaimani and Mahākāla as well as of 6000 Brāhmaṇas with the following previleges and conditions—(1) *sa-tala* (with surface of the land), (2) *s-oddeśa* (with space above the land), (3) *s-āmra-panasa* (with mango and jack trees), (4) *sa-guvāka-nālikera* (with arecanut and coconut palms), (5) *sa-jala-sthala* (with land and water), (6) *sa-gart-oṣara* (with pits and saline spots), (7) *sa-daś-āparādha* (with fines realisable from culprits committing the ten major crimes), (8) *sa-cor-oddharaṇa* (with stolen articles recovered from thieves), (9) *parihṛta-sarva-pīḍa* (free from troubles including free labour), (10) *a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa* (free from the entry of head-constables and constables), (11) *a-kiñcit-pragrāhya* (free from the collection of taxes), (12) *samasta-rājabhoga-kara-hiraṇya-pratyāya-sahita* (together with all the income enjoyed by the king in the shape of taxes in kind and in cash), (13) *ratna-traya-bhūmi-varjita* (excluding land in the possession of Buddhist establishments), and (14) *Indreśvara-naubandha-pratibaddha-daśadrauṇika-dvāpañcāśat-pāṭaka-bahiḥ* (excluding the land measuring 52 *pāṭakas* of 10 *droṇas* each, which was attached to Indreśvara's boat-station). It is further said that the grant was made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents in the name of the Lord Buddha and that the declaration in this respect was made by the king through the *Dūtaka* (executor of the grant) who was the *Mahāmudrādhikṛta* Śubhāṅga.

The cultivators and Brāhmaṇas of the countryside are then advised to be submissive to the donees and to pay them the proper dues. The *bhogapatis* (persons entitled to enjoy land, such as the governors, *jā'gīrdārs*, etc.) of the future are also requested to approve of the grant and protect it considering the greatness of the merit accruing to gifts of land and the fear of going to hell as a result of their abrogation. The date is then quoted as year 5, Vaiśākha-dina 5.

There are five of the usual imprecatory stanzas which are followed by verse 21 saying that the Candrapura (correctly, Śrīcandrapura) *śāsana* of king Śrīcandradeva was created through

1. For the official designations and other technical expressions, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v.; also *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 351ff., 388ff.

the *Dūtaka* Śubhāṅga whose family hailed from a locality called Sālavarendrī. It is difficult to say whether this name has anything to do with Varendra or Varendrī, the medieval name of North Bengal. Verse 22 is important because it says that it was the Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa named Vināyaka who was responsible for settling the 6000 Brāhmaṇas in the Śrīcandrapura-śāsana. This means that Vināyaka paid the requisite fees to the State for making the land, allotted to the Brāhmaṇas, a rent-free holding. The last stanza, states that the artisan Haradāsa was the engraver of the charter and that even the god of creation (Brahman)[1] has made such beautiful things on rare occasions. The record ends with the letters *sāndhi-ni anu* which remind us of similar abbreviated endorsements at the end of other East Indian records, e.g. *ni* (i.e. *śrī-ni*) *anu mahākṣa-ni* (i.e. *nirīkṣita* or examined and approved by the king and thereafter by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika*) in the Belabo plate.[2] *Sāndhi-ni* means *Sāndhivigrahi-nirīkṣita*, 'examined and approved by the minister of war and peace'; but *anu* suggests that some other officer also examined the document at a later date, even though no other letters are visible after *anu*. The endorsement at the end of the present charter thus appears to be incomplete.

The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that, besides adding to our knowledge of the history of the Candra dynasty of Bengal, it offers very valuable information regarding a great religious foundation of the Sylhet region, the like of which, as we have already said, is so far known only from a few South Indian inscriptions and which can be compared with such religious institutions as the Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Devasthānam at Tirupati in the Chittur District of Andhra Pradesh. For the sake of comparison, we may refer to the Malkapuram stone pillar inscription[3] (Śaka 1183=1261-62 A. D.) which records the foundation of a *maṭha* or monastery called Śrī-Viśvesvara-golakī by the great Bengali Śaivācārya Viśveśvaraśambhu who was the *dīkṣā-guru* or spiritual guide of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A. D.) of the Andhra country and of several other monarchs. Viśveśvara-

1. Gupta Chaudhury reads *vārttā* in place of *Dhātrā*, and translates the latter part of the verse as "Similar acts, the accounts of which are made (recorded), are scarcely found."
2. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 328. *Ni* may also be *nibaddha* or registered.
3. *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152ff.

śambhu, also called Viśveśvaraśiva and Viśveśvara-deśika, who was famous for his mastery of the Śaiva *Siddhānta*, *Āgama* and *Rahasya* and of all the sciences, was a native of Pūrvagrāma in the Rāḍha or Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha division of Gauḍa. He received from his disciple, king Gaṇapati, the village of Mandara situated in Kandravāṭi in the *viṣaya* or district of Velivāḍa, lying to the south of the great river Kṛṣṇaveṇī, i.e. the Kṛṣṇā. Gaṇapati's successor, his daughter Rudrāmbā (1261-96 A.D.), also granted in Viśveśvara's favour the village of Velaṅgapuḍi together with a few *laṅkās* or islets formed in the bed of the Kṛṣṇā, in addition to the village of Mandara and apparently adjacent to it. Viśveśvara established his monastery together with a perpetual rest-house evidently within the area of the said two villages.

The Malkapuram inscription gives an interesting account of the donations made by Viśveśvara who was the *Ācārya* of the *vidyā-maṇḍapa* (college) attached to the Śrī-Viśveśvara-golakī-maṭha and enjoyed one hundred gold coins (*niṣka*) as *Ācārya-bhoga* probably per year. There were sixty Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas who were probably merchants. Each of these sixty Brāhmaṇas received, from Viśveśvara, residence and titles and also two *puṭṭikās* of land measured by the rod of Penumbāka, thus making 120 *puṭṭikās* in all. The villages of Mandara and Velaṅgapuḍi were divided into three shares. The first of them was dedicated to the god Pinākin (Śiva), while the second and third were allotted respectively to the students of the college and the monastery of the Śuddhaśaivas and to the *prasūti-śālā* (maternity or lying-in hospital), *ārogya-śālā* (general hospital) and *vipra-sattra* wherein there was arrangement for feeding, at all times and without any obstruction, all people from Brāhmaṇa to Caṇḍāla who came and asked for food.

We are told that, in the college, there were three teachers of the *Ṛk*, *Yajus* and *Sāma Vedas*. There were also five teachers of *pada* (words), *vākya* (sentence), *pramāṇa* (mode of proof), *sāhitya* (literature) and *āgama* (scripture). A *Vaidya* (physician) and a *Kāyastha* (accountant and scribe) also appear to have belonged to the college. Each of these ten persons received from Viśveśvara two *puṭṭikās* of land. Ten nautch girls pertaining to Viśveśvaradeva (probably the Śiva-liṅga worshipped at Viśveśvara-golakī and named after the Pontiff Viśveśvaraśambhu) and eight *maddala*-players, including two bridlers, received one and half *puṭṭikās* each.

Seventy-three other persons were given each one *puṭṭikā* and also one-sixteenth *nivartana* of land in addition to the above. They were the following—(1) an inhabitant of Kaśmira; (2-15) fourteen songstresses, (16-21) six *karaṭa*-players; (22-23) two Brāhmaṇa cooks; (24-27) four servants; (28-33) six Brāhmaṇas belonging to the *maṭha* and *sattra*; (34-43) ten matted-haired ascetics from the Coḍa country, who were guards of the villages and were known as Vīrabhadra because their duties included *bīḍa-ccheda*, *kukṣi-ccheda* and *śiraśċheda*; (44-63) twenty *Bhaṭas* and *Vīramuṣṭis*; (64-73) ten *Kārus* (mechanics), *Nāpitas* (barbers) and *Śilpins* (artisans) and *Sthapatis* (engineers) who worked in gold, copper, stone, bamboo and iron.

Viśveśvara is said to have given three hundred *puṭṭikās* of land to a number of Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇas of the Śrīvatsa-gotra, who were natives of his own original home-village, i. e. Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha within Gauḍa. These Bengali Brāhmaṇas, settled in Andhra Pradesh, appear to have kept written accounts of the income and expenditure of the foundation and possibly received one hundred and fifty *puṭṭikās* as their *vṛtti* for doing the work. We are also told that, in case they would die without issue, their wives, if they would take up the work, would enjoy the lands.

Viśveśvara also founded a number of towns, monasteries and *agrahāra* villages (rent-free holdings of Brāhmaṇas) and also installed several of Śiva-liṅgas. Some of these establishments and gods were named after himself. One of the Śiva-liṅgas was installed at Mandrakūṭa (Mantrakūṭa in the Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh) and another at Kommūr where he donated sixty *khāris* of high and low land in favour of the god. King Gaṇapati made a gift of the village of Kandrakoṭa in the Pallināḍa *viṣaya* (district) in favour of his *guru* as *ācārya-dakṣiṇā* for the maintenance of a rest-house at the locality.

An earlier inscription[1] (c. 1025 A. D.) of the time of Rājendracoḷa I of Tamilnadu refers to similar provisions made in the temple of Rājarājaviṇṇagar at Rājarājacaturvedimaṅgalam, by the village assembly, for the maintenance of a hostel and a college as well as some other institutions. The hostel accommodated (1) 75 students of the *Ṛgveda*, (2) 75 of the *Yajurveda*, (3) 20 of the *Chāndoga-sāman*,

1. *An. Rep. Ep.*, 1918, pp. 145 ff.; R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 1969, pp. 193ff.

(4) 20 of the *Talavakāra-sāman*, (5) 20 of the *Vājasaneya*, (6) 10 of the *Atharvan*, (7) 10 of the *Baudhāyanīya-gṛhya-kalpa*, etc., and (8) 40 of the *Rupāvatāra*, apparently Kṛṣṇa-dīkṣita's grammatical work of that name quoted by Maitreyarakṣita about 1100 A. D.[1] Each of these students received 6 *nāḻis* of paddy per day. There were also (1) 25 students of *Vyākaraṇa*, (2) 35 of *Prabhākara* (*Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*) and (3) 10 of *Vedānta*, each of whom received one *kuruṇi* and two *nāḻis* of paddy per day. There were 3 teachers each for the *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda* and one each for the other Vedic texts enumerated above. The temple was provided with 45 *velis* of land for the maintenance of the teachers. The 2 teachers of *Vyākaraṇa* and *Prabhākara* received one *kalam* of paddy each per day and the teacher of *Vedānta* one *kalam* and one *tuṇi* of paddy.[2]

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1. See Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 534 (cf. Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 434).
2. *Nāḻi* (also called *paḍi*) is a measure of capacity regarded as ⅛ of a *kuruṇi* (also called *marakkāl*) and was sometimes regarded as about three pounds and six ounces, while *kalam* is a bigger measure equal to twelve *kuruṇis*, one *kuruṇi* or *marakkāl* being grains measured in a vessel having about 750 cubic inches capacity (Wilson's *Glossary*, s. v.). *Tūṇi* (Sanskrit *droṇī*) is equal to 4 *marakkāls* or *kuruṇis* (*Tamil Lexicon*, s. v.). Roughly speaking therefore a *nāḻi* was about 3½ pounds a *kuruṇi* about 28 pounds, a *tūṇi* about 112 pounds, and a *kalam* about 336 pounds. A *veli* was equal to 6⅝ acres of land.

LECTURE III

The Mainamati Plates of Ladahacandra, Govindacandra and Viradharadeva

I

Introduction

As we have seen in our first lecture, six copper-plate grants were discovered in the course of excavations carried on the Mainamati hills near Comilla in the Tippera District of East Pakistan, by the Department of Archæology, Government of Pakistan, in 1954 and the following years. It has also been noticed that, out of the six inscriptions one belonging to a king of the Deva dynasty of Samataṭa and another probably also issued by the same dynasty were found in the Buddhist monastery unearthed near Salbanpur. We have mentioned how king Bhavadeva of Samataṭa, who had his capital at Devaparvata on the Chandimura peak at the southern end of the Mainamati hills, was previously known from a copper-plate grant published by us in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951. pp. 83ff. Mention has also been made of the hillock now called Char Patra Mura or 'the Peak of Four Plates'. Of these four epigraphs, two are grants issued by king Laḍahacandra (c. 1000-20 A.D.) of the Candra dynasty and one charter was issued by his son Govindacandra (c. 1020-55 A.D.). The fourth charter belongs to a later dynasty of the Devas. All these records were briefly noticed in the report on 'Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla (1956)' prepared by F. A. Khan with the assistance of Dr. A. H. Dani, which appeared in *Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati* (1956), pp. 20ff. The notices are of course not quite free from errors. Thus, as we have already pointed out, the seal of king Bhavadeva's grant is stated to bear the legend—*Sri Bhangala Mriganka*, though the seal of the same king's previously published charter has it as *Śrī-Abhinavamṛgāṅka*,[1] and there is little doubt that the same title of the king is expected in the present case as well. It has been noticed above that the same legend is read on a

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

gold coin, discovered in the course of excavations, as *Bangala Mriganka* supposed to mean 'the deer-stamp of Bangala'. The king is again known to have been the founder of a Buddhist monastery which is mentioned in a red-stone seal bearing the legend *Śrī-Bhavadeva-mahā-vihār-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya*.

We had occasion to refer to the contents of the said copper-plate grants of the Candra kings of South-Eastern Bengal, on the basis of a paper read by Dr. Dani, now Professor of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar, at the Aligarh Session of the Indian History Congress held in December, 1960, and published in the Proceedings of the Session. We are very glad that all the three Candra charters, found in the course of excavations on the Mainamati hills, have been recently published by Prof. Dani in the *Pakistan Archaeology*, Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, No. 3, 1966, pp. 22-55. This publication was not easily available in Calcutta. We are extremely thankful to Mr. D. J. McCutchion of the Jadavpur University, who purchased a copy while paying a visit to Dacca and was kind enough to lend it to us for two weeks.

Two of the said three charters, as already indicated above, were issued by Laḍahacandra and one by Govindacandra. There are some mistakes and inaccuracies in the text and translation of the three records as published by Prof. Dani, and attention may be drawn here to only two of such mistakes, one relating to the reading and the other concerning the interpretation of the text.

The error of decipherment relates to the reading of the geographical name Vaṅga in three stanzas occurring in both the grants of Laḍahacandra and in one of the sanzas in Govinda-chandra's grant. The four verses in which the name Vaṅga has been read by Prof. Dani are quoted below together with their translation as published by him.

I. Verse 1 of Laḍahacandra's grants—

Jyotis=tuṣāra-śiśiraṁ cyutam=Atri-netrāc=
Candraḥ sa tat-kṣaṇam=abhūd=bhuvan-aika-dīpaḥ |
Vaṅgas=tataḥ pravavṛte pṛthivīpatīnāṁ
sār-ottaraś=ca saralaś=ca samunnataś=ca ||

"The light, cool as snow, emanating not from the three-eyed god (i. e. Mahādeva) is the Candra which became the unique lamp of the earth that very moment. From him, the lord of the world, Vaṅga, became fruitful, plain, i.e. peaceful and

prosperous." There is a note on *Mahādeva* in the translation, which reads, "Here the reference is to the moon that emanates from the head of Mahādeva."

II. Verse 2 of the same.

Viśv-opakārasya paro vidhātā
dharmyāt=pathaś=c=ācyuta eva jātyā /
Maheśvaraś=c=ājananād=ato='bhūd=
deva-tray-ātm=eva sa Candra-Vaṅgaḥ //

"That Candra of Vaṅga was, as it were, three lords [combined] in himself: the Creator (Brahmā) being the great benefactor of the world, Acyuta (Viṣṇu) not having by nature deviated from the path of virtue, and Mahādeva, god unborn, being the lord from the very birth."

III. Verse 3 of the same.

Tasy=ābhyunnati-śālinaḥ pracayino Vaṅgasya muktā-maṇiḥ
khyātaḥ kṣmā-valay-aika-nāyakatayā Trailokyacandro nṛpaḥ /
akṣudraḥ pariśuddhimān=apagata-trāsaḥ suvṛtto guṇa-
grāhyaḥ puṇyatamo babhūva jagataḥ prītyai ca bhūtyai ca yaḥ //

"The king, owing to his sole leadership over the world, was known as Trailokyacandra (literally, Candra, moon, of the three worlds). [He was] the crest-jewel of Vaṅga, which was full of prosperity and rising into prominence. He who was the most sacred of all, dispeller of hundred and one fears, of noble conduct, endowed with qualities and full of purities, became an object of love and welfare to the world."

IV. Verse 3 of Govindacandra's plate—

Tasya prajā-prītikar-odayasya
diśān=tamaḥ-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitasya /
kramāt=pravṛddhaḥ saralaḥ suparvā
samunnataś=ca prasasāra Vaṅgaḥ

"During his [reign], who adopted measures leading to prosperity that were pleasing to the subjects, and who was adept in dispelling the darkness of the directions, Vaṅga was gradually rising to prosperity, pre-eminence and peace."

The most obvious defect in the reading of all the four stanzas is that what is in reality *vaṅśa* (*vaṁśa*) has been read as *Vaṅga.* In this connection, it has to be noticed that the representation of *ṁś* by *ṅś* and *ṁs* by *ns* is quite common in East Indian epigraphs of the early medieval period, including the

inscriptions of the Candra dynasty of South-East Bengal. It was no doubt based on regional pronunciation of the *anusvāra*. Students of Orissan history know how the word *vaṅśa* (*vaṁśa*) was read as *Vaṅga* in a Somavaṁśī charter and how a theory was propounded on that basis regarding the relations of the Somavaṁśīs with Bengal.[1]

Among the mistakes of interpretation, the most unfortunate seems to be that, in the first of the stanzas, Candra or the moon is supposed to be described as emanated from Mahādeva's head. There is, however, nothing like this in the stanza itself which actually represents Candra as the *jyotiḥ cyutam*—*Atri-netrāt*, i. e. the light that emanated from the eye of the sage Atri. It seems that *Atri-netrāt* has been taken by Prof. Dani to be *a-Trinetrāt*, and that is why we have 'emanating not from the three-eyed god' in his translation, though this 'not' is forgotten in the foot-note quoted above, so that the moon is stated by Prof. Dani, at the same time, to have emanated from Trinetra and also not to have emanated from the said god. Really, however, there is no story regarding Candra's emanation from Śiva's head, the well-known legend being that of Śiva wearing the half-moon on his head as an ornament.

The same conception occurring in verse 2 of Govindacandra's plate has likewise been totally misunderstood. The stanza and its translation as published by Prof. Dani are quoted below.

Yad=adbhutan=nirgatam=Atri-netrāj=
jyotiḥ prakṛtyā śiśiraṁ sitañ=ca /
so='bhūt=kṣaṇāt sundara-kāntir=indur=
ānandano loka-vilocanānām //

"The light that emanated not from the three-eyed god (i. e. Śiva) and which by nature was cold and white, being more charming that the moon, became in an instant the source of joy to the people." Here also *Atri-netrāt* has been wrongly understood as *a-Trinetrāt*

1. See *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 52ff.; B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 174-75 ; Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1556. It may be noted in this connection that the name of D. C. Sen's well-known work, entilted *Bṛhat Vaṅga* (published in two volumes by the University of Calcutta), is based on a similar wrong reading of the expresion *bṛhad-vaṅśān* (i. e. *bṛhad-vaṁśān*) in verse 21 of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I. See *An. Rep. ASI*, 1903-04, pp. 277ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII (1925-1926), p. 109 ; cf. *Bṛhat Vaṅga*, Vol. I, 1341 B. S. (1935), p. ix.

without noticing that 'emanated not from the three-eyed god' does not really lead us anywhere.[1]

2. Two Grants of Ladahacandra, Regnal Year 6

The introductory part of both the inscriptions contains nineteen verses which are followed by the symbol for *Siddham* and the *maṅgala*—'Om. Adoration to Lord Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa)'. Next comes verse 1 which introduces the Moon-god who sprang from Atri's eye, there being a comparison between the dynasty and the bamboo, which is based on a pun on the word *vaṁśa* which means both. The same pun occurs in other inscriptions including the grant (verse 3) of Govindacandra discussed below.[2] Likewise in the next stanza, the Hindu Trinity is introduced in the description of the dynasty as *devatray-ātman* by using the words *Vidhātṛ* (Brahman), *Acyuta* (Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) and *Maheśvara* (Śiva), each in two different senses. Verse 3 introduces king Trailokyacandra as the jewel of the said family (*vaṁśasya muktā-maṇiḥ*). The next stanza continues the same king's description. It is interesting to note that only three generations of the donor's ancestors are mentioned, so that Trilokyacandra's ancestors, known from the grants of his son Śrīcandra, are omitted. Similar is the case with the charter of Govindacandra which, as we shall see, omits Trailokyacandra and describes the donor's ancestry from Śrīcandra.

Verse 5 introduces Śrīcandra as the son of king Trailokyacandra and queen Kāñcanā (*kāñcana-Kāñcaneya*), while verse 6 states how his military exploits brought tears to the eyes of the queens of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) and did away with the smiles on the lips of the queens of Gauḍa (i. e. the Gauḍa king). This indirectly refers to Śrīcandra's claim to have defeated the kings of Bengal and Assam, no doubt of the Pāla and Mleccha (Sālastambha) dynasties respectively.[3]

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1. It is probably not necessary to discuss the minor errors in the interpretation of the stanzas. Cf., e. g., the passage worngly read as *Candra-Vaṅga* (for *Candra-vaṁśa*) and inaccuaretly translated as 'Candra of Vaṅga' in verse 2 of Laḍahacandra's grants; 'more charming than the moon' as understood from the word *induḥ* in the Nominative case in the stanza quoted from Govindacandra's charter, and the like.
2. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 182 (verses 34-35); Sircar *Prob. K. R. Hist.*, pp. 77-78.
3. For the Mlecchas regarded as Mech, see above, p. 25, note 1.

The next king Kalyāṇacandra, son and successor of Śrīcandra, is introduced in verse 7 as pure or purifying like the waters of the Ganges. Verse 8 describes Kalyāṇacandra, as Śrīcandra is described in verse 6, as causing sorrow to the Mleccha and Gauḍa women, thus referring to the king's success against the Mleccha king of Prāgjyotiṣa and the Pāla king of Gauḍa. The nature of the claim may suggest that Kalyāṇacandra obtained these successes against the rulers of Bengal and Assam during the reign of his father as the leader of the latter's forces.

The next stanza introduces Kalyāṇacandra's queen Kalyāṇadevī who, according to the following verse, gave birth to Laḍahacandra just as Kuntī produced Yudhiṣṭhira and Rudrāṇī the god Skanda-Kārttikeya. Verse 9 represents Kalyāṇacandra as the god Viṣṇu and Kalyāṇadevī both as Lakṣmī and as worshipping the same goddess.

Verse 11 states how, at the birth of Laḍahacandra, there were rejoicings both in heaven and on earth. Laḍahacandra is further described in verse 12 as a passed master of all the sciences, principal and ancillary, and as having the goddess Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and the Earth under his control. Verse 13 speaks of Laḍahacandra's conventional lordship over the entire earth bounded by the ocean, while verse 14 indirectly represents him, through a series of puns, as the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva. The king is also described as a master of all the *vidyās* or sciences (cf. verse 12 above) and, conventionally, as one who became the lord of the entire earth in a few days' time.

According to verse 16, Laḍahacandra visited Vārāṇasī, the abode of Śiva and Pārvatī, took baths in the Ganges, and offered *tarpaṇa* to his ancestors and gifts of gold to numerous Brāhmaṇas. Verse 17 again speaks of the king's pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī, where the god Brahman performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and Śiva and Durgā resided happily. Verse 18 describes the king's activities at the holy confluence at Prayāga, which were like those at Vārāṇasī described in verse 16. Verse 19, the last stanza of the introductory part, refers to gifts made by the king at the said *tīrtha* which is sanctified by the Ganges and the Jamuna and where the eternal banyan tree stands.

The grant portion in lines 34 ff. introduces the donor of the charter, *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Laḍahacandradeva, as a devout worshipper of the Sugata (Buddha), as the successor of *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Kalyāṇacan-

dradeva and as issuing the record from his victorious camp at Vikramapura. Of the gift land, the first plot called Campāvaṇī and measuring 5¾ *droṇas* was attached to Phullahaḍā in Paṭṭīkeraka within the Samataṭa-maṇḍala of the Pauṇḍra-bhukti. The second plot called Bappasiṁhavorakagrāma and measuring 8 *pāṭakas*, 4¾ *droṇas*, 5 *yaṣṭis*, 3 *kākas* and 2 *bindus* was attached to Ḍollavāyikā in the same area. The boundaries of this plot are quoted as follows—(1) in the east, the posts (*kīlaka*) planted in the western extremity of the land belonging to Sūpakāravoraka and Buddhanandigrāma, in the western half of a tank; (2) in the south, the northern demarcating border (*āli*) of a plot of land belonging to Baleśvara-vardhakivoraka, and also the southern bank (*pāḍa*; cf. Bengali *pāḍ*) of Govindoñcama; (3) in the west, the eastern demarcating border of a plot of land belonging to Oḍagodhānikā; the post planted on the demarcating border which is the southern boundary of a plot of land pertaining to the *godhānī* (*godhānikā*); and the demarcating borders which are the southern and eastern boundaries of a plot of land belonging to Ghaṇṭārava; and (4) in the north, the southern demarcating border of Jayalambhagrāma. The third plot of land was attached to Guptīnāṭana and its boundaries were—(1) in the east, the Buḍḍhīgaṅginī (i.e. Buḍīgaṅgā); (2) in the south, the northern demarcating border of Karavattīvoraka; (3) in the west, the western border-road (*daṇḍ-āli*) of the land called Vaggurabhoga; and (4) in the north, half of the southern *vaḍḍikā* of the land under the enjoyment of the deity Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva). This plot, called Mahādevagrāma, including Vaggurabhoga and the *haṭṭikā* (market place) of Dhṛtipura, measured 3 *pāṭakas*, 9 *droṇas* and 1 *kāka*.

The people addressed by the king in respect of the grant of the above plots of land are enumerated as follows: all of the *Rājapuruṣa*, *Rājñī*, *Rāṇaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājāmātya*, *Mahāvyūhapati*, *Maṇḍalapati*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahākṣapaṭalika*, *Mahāsarvādhikṛta*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Koṭṭapāla*, *Daussādhanika*, *Naubala-hasty-aśva-go-mahiṣ-āj-āvik-ādi-vyāpṛtaka*, *Gaulmika*, *Śaulkika*, *Daṇḍapā-śika*, *Viṣayapati* and other royal officials who are not mentioned in this record, but are known from the *adhyakṣapracāra*, such as the categories like *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* as well as the people of the countryside and the cultivators headed by the Brāhmaṇas.[1]

1. For the various expressions, see above, pp. 30-31; also Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v.

The following passage states that the plot of land and the two villages indicated above were granted in the name of the god Vāsudeva-bhaṭṭāraka and in accordance with the *bhūmicchidra-nyāya* in favour of the deity Laḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka installed (at Paṭṭīkeraka according to Laḍahacandra's second grant) by the king himself, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his own self and his parents, by means of the *tāmra-śāsana* to which the *dharma-cakra-mudrā* was affixed. The privileges of the donee are enumerated as follows—*sva-sīm-āvacchinna*, *tṛṇa-pūti-gocara-paryanta*, *sa-tala*, *s-oddeśa*, *s-āmra-panasa*, *sa-guvāka-nālikera*, *sa-lavaṇa*, *sa-jala-stala*, *sa-gartt-oṣara*, *sa-daś-āparādha*, *sa-caur-oddharaṇa*, *parihṛta-sarva-pīḍa*, *a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa*, *a-kiñcit-pragraha* and *samasta-rājabhoga-kara-hiraṇya-pratyāya-sahita*.[1]

The donor then requests the addressees for their approval of the grant as well as the future rulers of the region for their approval and protection of it. The cultivators residing in the gift land were advised to be obedient to the donee and to offer him his dues. This is followed by five of the usual imprecatory verses. At the end, we have the date, *viz.* the 30th of Jyaiṣṭha in the 6th regnal year of king Laḍahacandra. The date is followed on the first grant by some contractions which show that the document was first registered or examined and approved by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* and next by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika*.

The second grant, which is couched in the same language as the first, was issued from the camp at Vikramapura by *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Laḍahacandra, who was a *Parama-saugata* and meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of *Mahārājādhirāja* Kalyāṇacandra. The gift village was Suravorakagrāma measuring 8 *pāṭakas*, 1½ *droṇas* and 29 *yaṣṭis* and was attached to the *viṣaya* (district) of Peranāṭana in the *maṇḍala* (province) of Samataṭa within the *bhukti* (territory) of Pauṇḍra. The boundaries of the above gift village are mentioned as follows—(1) in the east, the western demarcating border of the *śāsana* (rent-free holding) in the possession of Lokanātha-bhaṭṭāraka (probably the Buddhist god Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara) situated in Māyupāṭaka ; (2) in the south, the northern demarcating border of the said *śāsana* ; (3) in the west, the eastern border of the village of Brāhmaṇadevavoraka ;

1. For these expressions also, see above (p. 36) as well as Sircar, *op. cit.*, s.v.

and (4) in the north, the canal to the south of the village of Kāṁsārakaddapolaka. Pauṇḍra-bhukti was the same as Puṇḍravardhna-bhukti or Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti.

The grant was made permanently, in the name of Lord Vāsudeva-bhaṭṭāraka, in favour of the god Laḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka installed by the king at Paṭṭikeraka, by means of the copper-plate charter endowed with a *dharmacakra* emblem.

3. Govindacandra's Grant

The charter begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the auspicious word *svasti*. This is followed by 16 verses forming the introductory part of the record.

Verse 1 constitutes the Buddhist *maṅgala* containing a prayer to the Jina (Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha. Verse 2 introduces the Moon-god who sprang from Atri's eye and was the progenitor of the royal family to which the donor belonged. The next stanza introduces the family (i. e. the Candra dynasty) which descended from the Moon-god. Verse 4 introduces king Śrīcandra, the great-grandfather of the donor of the charter, born in the said family. He is described as more intelligent than the god Brahman and as a master of the sciences (cf. the description of Laḍahacandra in his own grants and also below). Verse 5 describes him as a destroyer of his enemies, as causing the prosperity of his friends, and as the lord of the entire earth including the mountains and oceans. This last claim is of course of a conventional nature.

Verse 6 introduces Śrīcandra's son and successor Kalyāṇacandra as equal to Bali in liberality, one of the three Rāmas in prowess, causing fear to the enemies, Yudhiṣṭhira in truthfulness and Arjuna in great strength. In verse 7, Kalyāṇacandra is described as doubling the waters of the Lauhitya-nada (Brahmputra) by means of the tears from the eyes of the Mleccna women, which had been caused by him by killing their husbands, and as humbling the power of the Gauḍa king in battle. The word *mleccha* here undoutedly refers to the Mleccha (Mech) dynasty of Assam, founded by king Sālastambha about the middle of the seventh century A. D. It will be noticed that the same achievements have also been ascribed to Kalyāṇacandra in verse 8 of the records of his son Laḍahacandra.

Verse 8 introduces Laḍahacandra as the son and successor of Kalyāṇacandra. It is said that, just as the Sumeru is accessible to

the celestial beings known as Vidyādhara, Laḍahacandra could be easily approached by the learned men. Verse 9 refers to the king's pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī, his baths in the Ganges, and his fame for poetical skill and scholarship and for his slaughter of the enemies. Verse 10 introduces Laḍahacandra's beloved queen Saubhāgyadevī who was like Śiva's wife Śivā and Hari's wife Śrī.

Verse 11 mentions Govindacandra as born of queen Saubhāgyadevī. The following stanza speaks of the happy mood in Kalyāṇacandra's palace and harem at the birth of his son Govindacandra. Verse 13 mentions young Govindacandra as equal to Mahāsena, holder of the *śakti* (i. e. Skanda-Kārttikeya), and his parents to Śiva and Śivā who were the latter's parents. It is further stated that Govindacandra learnt very well, in his childhood within a few days, all the sciences (*vidyā*) and arts (*kalā*) including the sciences of dealing with elephants, horses and chariots (cf. the descriptions of Śrīcandra and Laḍahacandra referred to above). Verse 14 contains conventional praises of Govindacandra, while the next stanza states that he was equal to Ākhaṇḍala (Indra) in splendour, the Sun in terrible vigour, and the sage Mārkaṇḍa or Mākaṇḍeya in the matter of long life. He was probably very old when the charter was issued. The concluding stanza contains a prayer to the Hindu Trinity, viz. the gods Svayambhū, Hari and Hara.

The grant portion in lines 32ff. states how the grant was issued from the royal camp at Vikramapura by *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Govindacandra who was a *Paramasaugata* and meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of *Mahārājādhirāja* Laḍahacandra. The gift land is next introduced as a plot measuring two *pāṭakas* situated in Sāharatalāka which was attached to the *viṣaya* or district of Peranāṭana within the Samataṭa-maṇḍala of the Pauṇḍrabhukti. The boundaries of the gift land are not quoted. The subordinates and officers, etc., addressed by the king in respect of the grant, the privileges of the donee and the conditions of the grant are all similar to those in the grants of Laḍahacandra discussed above.

The present grant was made permanently in favour of the god Naṭṭeśvara-bhaṭṭārakā in the name of the god Śiva-bhaṭṭākara for the religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents. The king's advice to the culivators of the gift land and his request to the future rulers of the area are couched in lauguage similar to that in the charters of Laḍahacandra,

The document closes with five imprecatory stanzas, there being no date and contractions as in Laḍahacandra's grants.

4. Importance of the Grants of Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra

As will be seen from our discussion above, the grants of Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra offer valuable imformation regarding the genealogy and political history of the kings. The succession of the kings, viz. Śrīcandra, his son Kalyāṇacandra, his son Laḍahacandra and his son Govindacandra, which remained unknown for many years, is clarified by these records. The success of some of the Candra kings against the Pālas of Gauḍa and the Mlecchas of Prāgjyotiṣa is interesting information not known from the formerly published records of the family excuding the Paschimbhag plate discussed above. The fact that Laḍahacandra visited Vārāṇasī and Prayāga on pilgrimage in the first quarter of the eleventh century when Mahīpāla I of Gauḍa was in the possession of wide areas of Bengal as well as Bihar and the eastern part of U. P. seems to suggest that, at the time, the Candra king was a subordinate ally of the Pāla monarch. In this connection, it may be pointed out that we have Mahīpāla's epigraphs of his third and fourth regnal years and Laḍahacandra's inscription of the eighteenth year of his reign in the ancient Samataṭa country. The evidence of the Mandhuk inscription (c. 940 A. D.) indicating Pāla rule in Samataṭa during Śrīcandra's time has been referred to above (p. 7).

There are, however, a few other points to which the attention of scholars may be drawn. The royal family of the Candras of South-East Bengal adopted Buddhism as well as the Buddhist symbol of the *dharmacakra* as the emblem on their seal. The kings of the dynasty were called *Paramasaugata*, i. e. devout follower of the Sugata or Buddha. Of the published copper-plate records of the family, the grants of Śrīcandra (c. 925-75 A. D.) were all issued in the name of the Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka.[1] The Mainamati plates[2] of Laḍahacandra (c. 1000-20 A.D.) and Govindacandra (c. 1020-45 A.D), how ever, show that the latest members of the Candra family repudiated the Buddhist faith of their predecessors and that they made grants

1. See, e.g., the Rampal plate of Śrīcandra in N. G. Majumdar's *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III. pp. 1ff.
2. See above, pp. 45 ff.; also *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 3, 1966, Karachi, pp. 22-55.

of land in favour of a Vaiṣṇavite or Śaivite deity in the name of Vāsudeva-bhaṭṭāraka or Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka. Although these two kings are also conventionally called *Paramasaugata*. their documents make it clear that they adopted Paurāṇic Hinduism, Laḍahacandra being specially devoted to the god Viṣṇu and Govindacandra to Śiva.[1]

Laḍahacandra's gifts were made in favour of the Vaiṣṇavite god Laḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka, installed by and named after himself. 'Laḍahamādhava' really means 'Mādhava installed by or named after Laḍaha', and Mādhava is a well-known name of the god Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. Govindacandra made his grant in favour of the dancing form of Śiva called Naṭṭeśvara whose worship, as we shall see below, may have been popularised in Bengal by South Indian settlers. The records of both the kings abound in references to Hindu mythology; but there is not a single reference to any Buddhist legend in them. Laḍahacandra visited Vārāṇasī and Prayāga on pilgrimage, though, significantly enough, Vārāṇasī is associated in the Mainamati inscriptions with Śiva and Pārvatī, and the god Brahman, and not with the Buddha's turning of the Wheel of Law at the Mṛgadāva (Sarnath).

An analysis of the Mainamati records in order to show the Hindu leanings of the two monarchs is made below, even though the facts have already been indicated above.

The two grants of Laḍahacandra begin with the Vaiṣṇavite *maṅgala*—*Oṁ namo bhagavate Vāsudavāya* and introduce, in verse 1, the Moon-god as springing from the eye of the sage Atri. Candra's rise from Atri's eye is not only noticed in the Purāṇas[2] and numerous epigraphical and literary works, but is even supported by such names of the Moon-god as Atrijāta, Atridṛgja, Atrinetraja, Atrinetrabhū, etc., recognised in the lexicons. In verse 2, the Hindu Trinity is introduced as *Vidhātṛ* (Brahman), *Acyuta* (Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) and *Maheśvara* (Śiva). Verse 7 describes king Kalyāṇacandra as pure or purifying (*pāvana*) like the waters of the Trisrotas (Ganges). Verse 9 says how Kalyāṇacandra's queen Kalyāṇadevī gave birth to Laḍahacandra just as Kuntī gave birth to Satyavāc

1. It is probable that Laḍahacandra received initiation in the Viṣṇu-mantra and Govindacandra in the Śiva-mantra.

2. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX. 14. 3.

(Yudhiṣṭhira)[1] and Rudrāṇī to the god Mahāsena (Skanda-Kārttikeya). The same stanza represents king Kalyāṇacandra as Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) and Kalyāṇadevī not only as Lakṣmī, but also as worshipping the said goddess. Verse 11 states how, at Laḍahacandra's birth, the divine drum sounded, the Vidyādharas danced, flowers dropped from heaven, pleasant winds blew and the goddess of earth, together with the ocean, became highly gladdened. Laḍahacandra is described in verse 12 as having the goddesses Gīr (Sarasvatī), Śrī (Lakṣmī) and Vasundharā (Earth) under his control. This verse also mentions the king's mastery of all the sciences, while verse 9 of Govindacandra's grant speaks of his *kavitva* and *pāṇḍitya*, so that the king may be identified, as we have suggested elsewhere, with the poet named Laḍahacandra known from Sanskrit anthologies.[2] Verse 14 indirectly represents the king as the gods Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) and 'the Subduer of Kāma' (Śiva).

According to verse 16, Laḍahacandra visited Vārāṇasī, the abode of Śambhu and Girisutā (Pārvatī), and took bath in the waters of the Ganges. He offered *tarpaṇa* to his ancestors and granted gold to numerous Brāhmaṇas. Verse 17 also speaks of the king's pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī, purified by the waters of the Ganges, where the god Svabhū (Brahman) performed ten Aśvamedhas [at the Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭ][3] and the god Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva) and the goddess Durgā resided. Verse 18 describes similar pious activities of the king at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Yumunā (*i.e.* at Prayāga near Allahabad). The next stanza refers to the gifts made by the king at the said *tīrtha* which is sanctified by the Yamunā and is the place where the eternal banyan tree (*Akṣaya-vaṭa*) stands. It is well known that there is one *Akṣaya-vaṭa* at Prayāga and another at Gayā.[4]

The two charters of king Laḍahacandra record the grant of several villages and plots of land in the name of Lord Vāsudeva in favour of the deity Laḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka installed at

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1. My attention has been drawn to the mention of Yudhiṣṭhira as Satyavāc in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*.
2. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p.339, note 7.
3. The story is known from the Purāṇas. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 635.
4. See Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 605, 653; also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 4; Vol. XXXVI, p. 92; etc. Prayāga was possibly under Mahīpāla I at the time.

Paṭṭikeraka by the king himself for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his own self and of his parents.

Verse two in Govindacandra's plate introduces the Moon-god who sprang from Atri's eye. and verse 4 describes Śrīcandra, the donor's great-grandfather, as more intelligent than Vāgīśa (the god Brahman) and as the master of the sciences (*vidyā*). Verse 6 introduces Śrīcandra's son and successor Kalyāṇacandra as equal to Bali, Rāma, Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna in liberality, prowess, truthfulness and strength respectively. Verse 8 says that, just as the Golden Mountain (Sumeru) is accessible to the celestial beings known as Vidyādhara, Laḍahacandra could be easily approached by the learned men (*vidyādharas*). Verse 9 refers to Laḍahacandra's pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī and his ablutions in the waters of the Ganges as well as to his *kavitva* and *pāṇḍitya*. Verse 10 introduces his queen Saubhāgyadevī who is stated to have been like Śivā and Śrī, the wives respectively of the gods Śiva and Hari. Verse 13 represents young Govindacandra as equal to Śaktimat Mahāsena (i.e. Skanda-Kārttikeya) and his parents to the god Śiva and the goddess Śivā. Verse 15 states that he was equal to Ākhaṇḍala (Indra) in splendour, the Sun in vigour and Mṛkaṇḍa's son (Mārkaṇḍa or Mākaṇḍeya) in the matter of long life.[1] Verse 16 of the inscription contains a prayer to the gods Svayambhū (Brahman), Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva), i.e. the Hindu Trinity. The grant recorded in the document was made permanently in favour of the god Naṭṭeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka in the name of Lord Śiva for the religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents.

As against the above points, the epithet *Paramasaugata* applied to the names of the kings and the *dharmacakra-mudrā* affixed to their grants appear to be a mere legacy of the past. The Buddhist *maṅgala* in verse 1 in Govindacandra's grant which is a prayer to the Buddhist Triad, the Jina (Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha, may also be explained in the same way. It is, however, interesting to note that the author, who composed this Buddhistic stanza, was also the author of the various other verses of the record, discussed above, which allude to Hindu mythology. He appears to have been

1. The story of the long-lived sage is told in the Purāṇas. See *Padma*, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Ch. XXXIII, and *Skanda*, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Ch. XXI, and Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, Ch. XLI.

a Hinduised Buddhist like the author of the tortoise-shell inscriptions in the Dacca Museum, in which the first foot of the Buddhist *maṅgala* stanza (*niśreyasāy = āstu Jino janānām*), referred to above, occurs together with an adoration to the god Vāsudeva.[1] There is no other trace of Buddhism in the Mainamati records of Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra. It may be noted that the Vaiṣṇava king Laḍahacandra named his son as Govindacandra after the god Govinda, i. e. Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu.

In the early medieval period, the Buddhists of Eastern India appear to have been attracted more and more by some of the Hindu gods and goddesses, the epico-Purāṇic literature, the religious festivals and the mythological shows and dramatical performances of the Hindus especially because they had themselves then not enough that was as attractive. On the other hand, some of the popular deities and festivals of the Buddhists were gradually appropriated by the Hindus or were popular among the Hinduised Buddhists. These points appear to be emphasised by the evidence of the Mainamati plates of Laḍahacandra and Govindacandra discussed above. Of course in this age, the Buddha was already accepted by the Brāhmaṇical Hindus as an incranation of Viṣṇu, and there is indirect allusion to this aspect of the problem in the tortoise-shell inscriptions referred to above, but not in the Mainamati records.

As regards the god Naṭṭeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, his name reminds us of Narteśvara-bhaṭṭāraka mentioned in an inscription as caused to be made and installed by Bhavudeva, son of the *Karmāntapāla* Kusumadeva on Thursday, the 14th of Āṣāḍha, which was the 14th of the dark half of the month, in the eighteenth year of Laḍahacandra's reign.[2] The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali referred to the discovery of a number of images of Naṭeśa-Śiva (Dancing Śiva) in South-East Bengal and wondered how the worship of the said god, which was a peculiarity of South India, came to be popular in these parts.[3] Probably it has to be associated with the settlement of South Indians in Bengal, to which we have elsewhere referred.[4]

1. See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 101ff. ; also Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 189 ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 351.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
4. *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I—*Society*, pp. 29-30, 118ff, See also 'South Indians in Bengal' in *Social Life in Ancient India*, ed. Sircar, pp. 110 ff.

The date of the above inscription is interesting since it speaks of the *Pūrṇimānta* calculation of the months and not to the solar month as is now prevalent in Bengal nor to the *Amānta* month as popular in South India at present.

The land measures mentioned in the records are (1) *bindu*, (2) *kāka*, (3) *yaṣṭi*, (4) *droṇa* and (5) *pāṭaka*, of which, excepting *bindu*, the other words are known from many records in the sense of land measures.[1] According to an earlier inscription of the Tippera District, 40 *droṇavāpas* or *droṇas* made one *pāṭaka*. The measure *kāka* may not be the same as modern *kāni* which is probably the old *kākinī*.[2] The measure called *yaṣṭi*, which is bigger than *kāka*, really means 'the measuring rod', so that it may indicate a small area measuring only one rod on all the four sides.[3] In such a case, *kāka* was very considerably smaller than the *kāni* which is equal to 80 *kaḍās* and is $\frac{1}{16}$th of a *droṇa* or *droṇavāpa*[4] According to old Bengali arithmetical tables, 4 *kākas* make one *kaḍā* (cowrie-shell), 1280 of which were equal to a full silver coin (*kāhaṇa*=*kārṣāpāṇa*).

The following geographical names are mentioned in the grant portion of the three epigraphs: (1) Vikramapura, Pauṇḍra-bhukti, Samataṭa-maṇḍala, Paṭṭīkeraka, Phullahaḍā, Ḍollavāyikā, Sūpakāravoraka, Buddhanandigrāma, Baleśvaravardhakivoraka, Govindoñcama, Oḍagodhānikā, Ghaṇṭārava, Jayalambhagrāma, Bappasiṁhavorakagrāma, Guptīnāṭana, Buḍḍhīgaṅginī, Karavattīvoraka, Vaggurabhoga and Dhṛtipurahaṭṭikā in Laḍahacandra's first grant; (2) Vikramapura, Pauṇḍra-bhukti, Samataṭa-maṇḍala, Peranāṭana-viṣaya, Māyu-pāṭaka and Brāhmaṇadevavorakagrāma in Laḍahacandra's second grant, and (3) Pauṇḍra-bhukti, Samataṭa-maṇḍala, Peranāṭana-viṣaya and Sāharatalāka in Govindacandra's grant.

Vikramapura was the capital of the Candra kings in the present Dacca District of East Pakistan. The *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana in the Gupta empire covered North Bengal; but the later inclusion of the *maṇḍalas* of Samataṭa (Tippera-Noakhali region), Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) and Khāḍī (parts of 24 Parganas and its neighbourhood) into the same *bhukti*, often called Pauṇḍra, is well known.

1. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s.v.
2. Cf. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 416.
3. For measuring rods of 48 steps or 34 feet, see *ibid.*, p. 408.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 416, 418.

Possibly this was due to the fact that the metropolitan province of the Pāla empire, having its headquarters at the city of Gauḍa in North Bengal, included South-Eastern and Southern Bengal. Since the Candras did not rule over Northern Bengal (with which fact the change of the name 'Puṇḍravardhana' to 'Pauṇḍra' may be associated), the words *bhukti, maṇḍala* and *viṣaya* may be understood in the senses of territory, province and district respectively. Paṭṭikeraka is the Pargana Pattikera or Paitkara extending up to the Mainamati hills. The *viṣaya* or district of Guptīnāṭana in Samataṭa is already known from the Kailan plate[1] of Śrīdhāraṇarāta, while the Peranāṭana-viṣaya is mentioned in the Ashrafpur plates[2] and the Tippera plate[3] of king Bhavadeva of Devaparvata.

The word *voraka* occurring in the names of some of the villages seems to be the same as Bengali *boro* which essentially means a sort of rice sown in low swampy grounds or near the banks of a river, but has probably been used in the present records in the sense of land fit for *boro* cultivation.[4] Thus Baleśvaravardhakivoraka seems to mean a plot of *boro*-sowing land owned by and named after the carpenter Baleśvara. A similar name is Kāṁsārakaddapolakagrāma which was a village named after the brazier Kaddapolaka. *Bhoga* in Vaggura-bhoga means a small territorial unit and *haṭṭikā* in Dhṛtipura-haṭṭikā means a market place. The words *uñcama* and *godhānikā* in the names Govindoñcama and Oḍagodhānikā may be similar words of uncertain implication. The same is the case with the word *vaddikā*. The Buḍḍhī-gaṅginī reminds us of the name of the Buḍīgaṅgā, an offshoot of the Dhaleśvarī in the Dacca District, though its indentification in the present case is uncertain.

5. Grant of Vīradharadeva

On one of the copper-plate charters discovered at Char Patra Mura, we have the following note in Khan's report: "The fourth plate discovered at Char Patra Mura is of a later period. It mentions the name of a Hindu ruler. This plate measuring 11"×9¼" bears on

1. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235.
2. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, p. 91.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. Prof. Dani speaks of Sūpakāravoraka-Buddhanandigrāma as "a village inhabited by '*Sūpakāra* (cooks), *Voraka* (scribes), Buddhists and Nandis'—a social grouping not without significane." There is, however, no doubt that Buddhanandigrāma is a village named after a person called Buddhanandin.

both sides of its seal the wheel of Vishnu, and at the end of its text is engraved the figure of a running dog. The plate, issued by Sri Virandhara Deva on the day of Kartika in the 15th year (regnal), contains the grant of 17 padas of land. On palaeographical consideration, the copper plate could be assigned to the 11th-12th centuries A. D."[1]

It will be seen that the number of the day in the month of Kārttika in the date of the record has been inadvertently left out. Apart from this, there are two serious errors in the above description, the first in the name of the royal donor of the grant and the second in the date to which the charter has been assigned on palaeographical grounds. Elsewhere in the report, the record has been correctly described as "Copper Plate of Sri Viradhara Deva, C. 12th-13th century A. D."[2] Thus the donor of the charter was Śrī-Vīradharadeva and not Śrī-Vīrandharadeva, while the date of the writing cannot be both the twelfth or thirteenth century and the eleventh or twelfth century. The eleventh-twelfth century A. D. may be correct.

The above epigraph of Vīradharadeva has not yet been published; but Khan's report contains a photograph of the writing on the upper part of the reverse side of the plate, which illustrates eleven lines of the inscription and furnishes some additional information.

King Vīradharadeva who issued the charter was apparently a worshipper of the god Viṣṇu. He made the grant with his thought on Lord Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), and his seal represented the *Viṣṇu-cakra* or the *sudarśana-cakra* held by the god Viṣṇu. The grant under study was also made in favour of the lord Vāsudeva under the name Laḍahamādhava. From the two Mainamati copper-plate inscriptions of the Candra king Laḍahacandra referred to above, we have seen that it was the said Candra king who installed, at Paṭṭikeraka, the god Laḍahamādhava named after himself. Mādhava being a popular name of the god Viṣṇu, 'Laḍahamādhava' was a form of the said god. The predecessors of Laḍahacandra were Buddhists in faith; but as we have seen, this king repudiated the religion of his forefathers and adopted Vaiṣṇavism as his religion.

1. *Op. cit.*, 1956, p. 26.
2. This is mentioned in the label at the bottom of the illustration of the reverse of the plate in Khan's report.

The gift land was situated in the *viṣaya* or district of Vātagaṅgā within the *maṇḍala* or division of Samataṭa in the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana probably in a village called Svāñcā lying in an area called Saïma. That the province of Puṇḍravardhana or Pauṇḍravardhana originally covered only North Bengal, but later also other areas of South-Eastern and Southern Bengal has been mentioned above. The inclusion of the Samataṭa-maṇḍala in the said province is already known from the Mehar plate[1] of Dāmodaradeva.

It is difficult to locate king Vīradharadeva of Samataṭa in the history of the area. It is tempting to associate him with the dynasties of Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla (Śaka 1141) of Paṭṭikera and Dāmodaradeva (Śaka 1158, 1165) and Daśarathadeva who succeeded in ousting the Senas from Vikramapura. An interesting point to be remembered in this connection is that, while the other rulers of the thirteenth century used the Śaka era in dating their charters,[2] Vīradhara seems to have used his regnal reckoning only. We may probably regard him as an ancestor of Harikāladeva of the kingdom of Paṭṭikera identified with the Pāiṭkārā Pargana extending, as we have seen, up to the Mainamati hills, five miles to the west of Comilla.[3] The suggestion is influenced by the fact that the charters of Harikāladeva and Vīradharadeva have both been found in the area of the Mainamati hills, while both the rulers are associated with Paṭṭikera near the same hills. Whereas the kingdom of Paṭṭikera formed the dominions of Harikāladeva, Vīradharadeva made a grant in favour of the god Laḍahamādhava installed for worship in a temple at the capital of the said kingdom.

The representation of a dog at the end of the charter reminds us of the well-known 'donkey curse' engraved in records of donation.[4] In such a case, the representation means to say that the transgressor of the grant will be born as a dog in his next birth.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182 ff.
2. See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1114, 1731; also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 184 ff.; *Itihās* (Bengali), Vol. VIII, Part 3, B. S. 1364-65, pp. 160 ff.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IX, pp. 286 ff.
3. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 258.
4. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 89.

APPENDIX[1]

I. Jagadishpur Plate, Gupta Year 128

OBVERSE

1 स्वस्ति (॥*) शृङ्गवेरवैथेय-पूर्णकौशिकायाः भट्टारक-पादानुद्ध्यातः आयुक्त-काच्युतो-

2 धिकरणश्च गुल्मगन्धिके स(सं)गोहालिके (च*) ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणादीन्प्रधान-कुटु[म्बि]नः कुशल-

3 माशास्य बोधयन्ति (।*) विदितम्बोस्तु[2] यथा पुण्ड्रवर्धने य(ये) मूलकवस्तुका-वास्तव्य-कु [टु*]

4 म्बि-क्षेमाक(ः*) गुल्मगन्धिका-वास्तव्य-भोयिलः तत्र च वास्तव्य-महीदासाविह[3] वीथीमह[त्त*]-

5 र-कुमारदेव - गण्ड - प्रजापति - जे(ज्ये)ष्ठदामा(म)-कुटुम्बि - यशोविष्णु[4]- उमयश(शो)-हरिश[र्म्म]-

6 स[र्प्प]पालित-हिरण्यगुप्त-कुमारयश(ः*)-कुमारभुति-शिवकुण्ड-शिवापर-शिव-सोमवि[ष्णु]-

7 सत्यविष्णु-कङ्क टि-नन्ददाम - वीरनाग - नारयणदास[5] - रुद्र-भव - गुह - अच्युत-कुवेर-शर्व्वनाग-[भव]-

8 नाग-श्रीदत्त-भवदत्त-धनविष्णु - गुणरथ-नरदेव-पुरोगाः वयश्च विज्ञापिताः (।*) इ[च्छा]मः व[क्षि]-

9 णांशक(के) वी[थ्या] मेचिकाम्र-सिद्धायतने भगवता(म)मर्ह[ता]न्का(ङ्का)रिस्क-वि[हा]रे गुल्मगन्धिके चार्हता[म्पू][जा*]-

10 र्थं कारितक-प्रान्त-विहारिक(कायां) तत्रन गुल्मगन्धिके भगवतस्सहस्ररश्मेः कारितक-देवकुले च व(ब)लि-चरु-स[त्र*]-

11 प्रवर्त्तणा(ना)य खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्कार-करणाय गन्ध-धु(धू)प-तैलोपयोगो(गा)य शश्वत्का-लोपभोग्याक्षय[नी]-

12 व्या म(अ)प्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापमेकं क्रीत्वा दातुं(तुम्।) युष्माकञ्च वीथ्यामनुवृत्त(ः*) द्वि-दीनारिक्या(क्यो)प्रतिक[र]-

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1. Errors in the published transcripts have not been noticed in these appendices.
2. Read *viditaṁ vo='stu.*
3. Read *Mahīdāsas=tair=iha,*
4. The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed here.
5. Read *Nārāyaṇa,* The *akṣara ra* is written below the line.

13 खिलक्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवाप-विक्रय(:।*) तदर्हंथास्माभिर्हस्ताद्दीनार-[1]द्वयं गृहीत्वा क्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापमे[कं]

14 दा(दा)तुमिति (।*) यतो(त) एतद्विज्ञाप्यमु[प*]ल[भ्य*] पुस्तपाल-सिंहनन्दि-यशोदामयो[2]रवध(धा)रणया-

REVERSE

15 स्त्य[यम]स्मद्वीथ्यनुवृत्त(:*) द्विदीनारिक्या(क्यो)[प्र]तिकर-खिलक्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापविक्रय-स्तद्दीयताञ्च

16 विरोधः कश्चिदित्यत्रस्थाप्य क्षेमाक-भोयिल-महिदासयो[3]र्हस्तात्कुलिक-भीमेनोपसंगृही(त*)-क-दीनार-

17 द्वयमेतत्क्रीत्वा[4] क्षेमाक-भोयिल-महीदासयो[5] षड् द्रोणवापाः श्रव(म)णकाचार्य-बलकुण्डस्य समा-

18 वि(वे)शिताः (।*) भोयिलेनापि साम्बपुरस्यात्थ(र्थं) द्रोणवाप-द्वयं तत्र [च] [दं]-वतकुल-[6]समीपे पुष्पवाटिका-तलवा-

19 टक-निमित्तं(त्त)व द्रोणवापमेकं कारित[7]मित्येत(त्*) क्षेत्रं गुल्मगन्धिकाया(यां) पूर्व्वोत्तत्तरांया[8] दिशि सत्त द्रोणवा-

20 [पाः] दें(दे)व[कु]ल-समीपे च द्रोणवापमेकं(कम् ।) लिख्यम(ते)त्र सीमा पूर्व्वेण पुष्कि-(ष्क)रिण्या[:*] कन्दर(:*) सीमा च दक्षिणे-

21 न धनविष्णु-पुष्कि(ष्क)रिण्या देव-कन्दर(:*) सीमा च पश्चिमेनापि नाम्रक-सतक[9] सीमा उत्तरेणापि मा......तकु-

22 ण्ड(:*) सीमा इत्येत(त्*) चतुस्सीमा-नियमित-क्षेत्रं समुस्थितं कालं[10] येप्यन्ये विषय-पतययः[11] आयु-

1. Read °*asmākaṁ hastād=dīnāra*°.
2. Read *Siṁhanandi-Yaśodāmnor*°.
3. Read °*Mahīdāsānāṁ hastā*°
4. Read °*dvayena kṣetram=etat*°.
5. Read °*dāsānāṁ.*
6. Read *devakula.*
7. Read *krītam*°
8. Read *svatvaka-kṣetraṁ*
9. Read °*ottarāyāṁ.*
10. Read *samupasthita-kālīyāḥ*. This is the same as *bhaviṣyad-yathākāla-bhāvin, yathākāl-ādhyāsin, yathāsambadhyamānaka*, etc. Cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 167.
11. Read °*patayaḥ*. The *akṣara vi* is written below the line.

23 क्काः कुटुम्बिनोधिकरणिका वा सम्व्यवहारिणो[1] भविष्यन्ति [ते]रपि भूमिदान-
फलम[वे]-

24 क्ष्याक्षयनीव्या(व्य)नुपालनीया (।*) उक्तश्च भगवता व्यासेन (।*)
स्व(द*)तां(त्तां) परदतां(त्तां) वा यो हरेत वसुन्ध-
रां(राम् ।)

25 स विष्ठाया(यां) कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते (॥*)
षष्टि-वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमि-
दः (।*)

26 आक्षेता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये[व] न(र*)के वसेत् (॥*)
इयं राजशतैर्द्दत्वा(त्ता) दि(दी)य(ते*) च [पु]नः पुनः (।*)
य[स्य]

27 यस्य यद(दा) भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम् ।।)
विन्ध्याटवीष्वनंभस्सु शुष्ककोटर-वासिनः (।*)
कृष्णाह-

28 योभिजायन्ति(न्ते) भूमिदाया न्(*) हरन्ति [ये] दि(इ)ति (॥*)
सं १०० २० ८ चैत्र-दि २० लिखितं रुद्रदा[सेन] तापि-

29 [तं] [सु]सिण्हन मिति[2] (॥*)

II. Paschimbhag Plate of Śrican'ra, Regnal Year 5

[Metres : verse 1—*Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2, 9, 16-17, 19 and 23—*Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3-4, 6, 10-11—*Upajāti* ; verses 5, 7-8, 12 15—*Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 18—*Śālinī* ; verse 20—*Puṣpitāgrā* ; verses 21-22—*Āryā*.]

OBVERSE

1 सिद्धम्[3] स्वस्ति ।
वन्द्यो जिन्स्स भगवान् करुणैकपात्र-
न्धर्म्मोप्यसौ वि-

1. Read *saṁvya*°
2. Read *Susiṁhena iti*.
3. Expressed by symbol.

2 जयते जगदेकदीपः ।

यत्सेवया सकल एव महानुभाव-

3 स्सन्सार[1]-

पारमुपगच्छति भिक्षु सङ्घः ॥ 1

पूर्ण्णचन्द्र इति श्रीमानासीन्नासीरजं रजः ।

यस्यापुररयोपूर्व्वमा-

4 तपत्रमत्रपाः ॥ 2

नाम्नैव विशुद्धो न तुलाधिरूढः

किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव युतो गरिम्णा ।

तथापि कल्याण-सु-

5 वण्णकल्प-

स्सुवर्ण्णचन्द्रस्सुकृती ततोभूत् ॥ 3

दर्शोऽस्य माता किल दोहदेन

दिदृक्षमाणोदितमिन्दु-

6 विम्वम्[2] ।

सुवर्ण्णचन्द्रेन हि तोषितेति

सुवर्ण्णचन्द्रं यमुदाहरन्ति ॥ 4

तस्माद्वन्दि-चिलोचनेन्दु-द्विषदाश्रि-

7 स्यन्द-चन्द्रोदयः ।

कौलीनात् समयस्सभाकमलिनी-सुप्रात-सन्ध्यातपः ।

तृष्णक्-चातक-मण्डली नवघन[श्च]-

8 [मू]-प्र[जा] यामिकः ।[3]

त्रैलोक्यप्रथितोरु-कीर्त्तिरजनि त्रैलोक्यचन्द्रो नृपः ॥ 5

चतुः-पयोराशि समास पृ-

9 थ्वी-

जयाभिलाषो विषयेष्वलुब्धः(ब्धः) ।

युद्धेषु निस्त्रिंश[4]-लता-जलेन

यो वैरि-वह्निं शमयाञ्चकार ॥ 6

क्षीरोदाम-

1. Read °*s=saṁsāra.*
2. Read *bimbam.*
3. The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
4. Read *nistriṁśa.*

10 ह्यु देवपर्वत इति श्रीमत्तदेतत् पुरं
यत्रागन्तुजनस्य विस्मय-रसः कम्बो(म्बो)ज वार्त्ताद्भुतैः ।
लालम्बी(म्बी)-वनमत्र नाथि-
11 क-शतरन्विष्य सिद्धौषधि-
व्याहारा इति ह श्रुतस्समतटश्चिज्जित्य यत्सैनिकैः ॥ 7
भुक्त्वा वङ्ग-दधीनि कृष्णशिख-
12 रिग्रामेषु कौतुहलात्(लाद्)
विन्ध्यस्याप्यधिमेखला-वनतलं पीत्वा सुरुङ्गा-नदीः ।
जेतुर्यस्य व(ब)लैर्व्यगा-
13 हि मलयः श्रङ्गोपल-प्रक्षलत्-
कावे(वे)री-जल-वेणी-जर्ज्जर-रव-व्यामिश्र-कोलाहलैः ॥ 8
इन्द्राणीव महे-
14 न्द्रस्य भवानीव भवस्य या ।
तस्य श्रीकाञ्चिका नाम व(ब)भूव महिषी प्रिया ॥ 9
स राजयोगेन शुभे मुहूर्त्ते
15 मौहूर्त्तिकैस्सूचित-राजचिह्न(ह्नम्) ।
अवाप तस्यां तनयञ्जयज्ञः
श्रीचन्द्रमिन्दूपममिन्द्र-तेजाः ॥ 10
एकात-
16 पत्राभरणाम्भुवं यो
विधाय दैधेय-जनाभिधेयः ।
चकार कारासु निवेशितारि-
र्यशस्सुगन्धिनि दिशाम्मु-
17 खानि ॥ 11
यत्-सैन्यैः किल कामरूप-विजये रोहत्-कपोती-घना
निविष्टाः भ(फ)लपाक-पिङ्ग-कदली-कुञ्ज-
18 भ्रमद्वानराः ।
रोमन्थालस-व(ब)द्धनिद्र-चमरी-संसेवित-प्रान्तरा
लोहित्यस्य वनस्थली-परिसराः कालागु-
19 रु-श्यामलाः ॥ 12
सैषा चित्रशिला मनोरम-शिला-पुष्प-प्रतानाचिता
ताली-सच्छद-मर्म्मरैः परिसरैः

20 सा पुष्पभद्रा नदी ।

इत्युत्कण्ठुलमु[1]त्तरापथ-जये यत्-सैनिक-श्रोत्रियै-
रध्याये पठितश्चिरं हिमगिरौ

21 दृष्टा(ष्ट्वा) स्थली-देवताः ॥ 13

सन्तोषं रणदेवताङ्गमयता वीर्य्यावदानैर्व्विजै-
रुन्मृष्टं यम(व)नी-पयोधर-तटे पत्रा-

22 ङ्कुलि-मण्डनं(नम्) ।

शोक-प्रच्छन-जर्ज्जरं विरचितं हूणी-कपोलोदरं
येनोन्मूलितमुत्कली-नयनयोस्ताली सुरा-

23 घूर्ण्णितं(तम्) ॥ 14

स्पृष्टः पार्थिव-पान्सु[2]-दोहद रस श्लाघा घन-दिग्गजं[3]-
र्न्नेत्राणामनिमेषतः परिहृतो दूरेण वृ-

24 न्दारकैः ।

केशेष्वप्सरसामपूर्व्व-पलित भ्रान्तिन्समारोपयन्[4]
सन्तानो रजसां रणेषु जयिनो यस्य द्रुग-मार्ग्ग-

25 श्रुतः ॥ 15

स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-समावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगत-
परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारको-

26 महाराजाधिराज-श्रीत्रैलोक्यचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातः परमसौगतः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको

27 महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् श्रीचन्द्रदेवः कुशली । श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति-
श्रीहट्टमण्डल-सातलवर्ग्ग-

28 सम्बद्ध[5]-अ वेडिका-समेत-गरलाविषय - पोगारविषय-चन्द्रपुरविषयेषु ।[6]
समुपगताशेष/राज्ञी/रा-

REVERSE

29 णक/राजपुत्र/महासान्धिविग्रहिक/महासैन्यपति/महामुद्राधिकृत/

30 महाक्षपटलिक/पादमूलिक महाप्रतीहार/महातन्त्राधिकृत महासर्व्वाधिकृत्त/महाव(ब)ला-

1. Read *ity=utkaṇṭhitam°*.
2. Read *pāṁsu*.
3. Read *ghanair=diggajai°*.
4. Read *bhrāntiṁ samā°*.
5. Read *sambaddh-Āveḍikā*.
6. Here and below, the *daṇḍa* is used as a hyphen is done in English. In lines 33 ff., it is offen used like a comma.

31 धिकरणिक / महाव्यूहपति / मण्डलपति/ कोट्टपाल दौस्साधनिक/चौरोद्धरणिक/नौब(ब)ल-हस्त्यश्व-गो-महि-

32 षाजाविकादि-व्यापृतक गौल्मिक शौल्किक दाण्डिक दाण्डपाशि(शि)क / दाण्डनायक /विषय-पत्यादीनन्यांश्च राजपादो-

33 पजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान/चाट-भट-जातीयान्/जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)-ह्मणोत्तरान्/यथार्हं मानय-

34 ति वो(बो)धयति / समाज्ञापयति च मतमस्तु भवताम् / विषयानेतान् / पूर्व्वेण ब्र(ब्र)हत्-कोट्टालि(:*) सीमा / दक्षिणेण मणिनदी सीमा पश्चिमे-

35 न जुज्जूखातक(कं) काष्ठवर्णी खातक(कं) वेत्रघटीनदी सीमा/ उत्तरेण कोसियारनदी सीमा/इत्येवं चतुस्सीमा-पर्यन्तान् श्री-श्री-

36 चन्द्रपुराभिधानम्ब्र(म्ब्र)ह्मपुरम्परिकल्प्य / एतस्मिन् श्रीचन्द्रपुरे / ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे / एतन्मठ-प्रतिब(ब)द्ध च(चा)न्द्रव्याकरणोपाध्यायस्य द-

37 शद्रोणिक-दश-पाटकाः / दशच्छात्राणां पालिघुट्टकार्थं दश-पाटकाः / अपूर्व-पञ्च-ब्रा(ब्रा)-ह्मणानां प्रत्यहम्भक्तन्दातुम्पञ्च-पा-

38 टकाः / एतदधिष्ठाव(न)-कारयितुर्ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्य पाटकः / गणकस्य पाटकः / कायस्थस्य सार्द्ध-पाटक-द्वयम् । मालाकार-चतुष्ट-

39 यस्य तैलिक-द्वयस्य/ कुम्भकार-द्वयस्य / पञ्च-काहलिकानां / शङ्खवादक-द्वयस्य / ढक्कावादक-द्वयस्य अष्ट द्रागडिका-

40 णां / द्वाविंशति[1]-कर्म्मकर-चर्म्मकाराणाञ्च प्रत्येकं(कम्) अर्द्ध-पाटकः / नटस्य पाटक-द्वयं / सूत्रधार-द्वयस्य / स्थपति-द्वयस्य / कर्म्मका-

41 र-द्वयस्य च प्रत्येकं पाटक-द्वयं(यम्)/अष्ट-चेट्टि(टि)कानां प्रत्येकं पादोन-पाटकः / नवकर्म्म-निमित्तञ्च सप्तचत्वारिंशत्[2] पाटकाः / ए-

42 वमनेन नियमेन विंशत्यधिक[3]-पाटक-शतं । तथा देशान्तरीय-मठ-चतुष्टयस्य/वङ्गाल-मठ-चतुष्टयस्य च / वैश्वानर योगेश्वर-

43 जैमनि महाकालेभ्यश्च एषामुभयेषां मठ-प्रतिब(ब)द्ध-ऋग्यजुस्सामाथर्वोपाध्याया-नामष्टानां प्रत्येकं दश-पाटकाः/प्र-

44 ति मठ-पञ्च-च्छात्राणां पञ्च-पाटकाः / मालाकार-नापित-तैलिक-रजकानां(नाम्) / अष्ट-कर्म्मकर-चर्म्मकाराणाञ्च / प्रत्येकं(कम्) / अर्ध-

1. Read *dvāviṁśati.*

2. Read *saptacatvāriṁśat.*

3. Read *viṁśaty-a°.*

45 पाटकः / चेट्टि(टि)का-द्वयस्य प्रत्येकं पादोन-पाटकः / प्रति-मठ-न्न(न)वकर्म-निमित्तञ्च दशपाटकाः / प्रति-मठ-चतुष्टये च / मह-

46 त्तर-ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्य पाटक-द्वयं / वारिकस्य सार्द्ध-पाटकः / कायस्थस्य सार्द्ध-पाटक-द्वयं गणकस्य पाटकः / व्यै(वै)द्यस्य पाट-

47 क-द्वयं(यम्)/ एवमनेन / नियमेन / अशीत्युत्तर-पाटक-शत-द्वयं(यम्) /वात्सदत्त/हर्ष/शेखर/ विश्वरूप/भानुदत्त/ईशान/

48 धन्यनाग/नन्द यशः/चक्र/गोवर्द्धन/सिङ्ग(सिंह)दत्त / कमलनन्दि / सवितार / माणिक्य / कामुक/भीमपाल/अन्तग/वत्सधर/नन्दघो-

49 ष/श्रीधर/राम/ शिवव(ब)न्धु/मङ्गल/वेदो/धवल/बिष्णुदत्त/शान्तिदाम/गर्गशर्म्म/महीन्द्रसोम/ रविकर/भानु/नारायण/

50 गर्गगुप्त / शसि(शि)दत्त/ हरि/जयदत्त/गर्गादि-षड्-ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-सहस्रेभ्यश्च/नाना-गोत्र-प्रवरेभ्यः / चतुश्चरण-नाना-शाखाध्यायिभ्यः।

51 सम-विभागेन शेष-भूमिः। इत्येवं/ब्र(ब्र)ह्म/[1]अग्नि/योगेश्वर/जैमनि-महाकालेभ्यः/ षड्-ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-सहस्रेभ्यश्च / उपरि-लिखित-

52 सीमावच्छिन्ना-वेडिका-समेत-विषया एते / स-तलाः / सोद्देशाः / साम्र-पनसाः / स-गुवाक-नालिकेराः / स जल-स्थलाः स-गर्त्तोषराः / स-

53 दशापराधाः / स-चोरोद्धरणाः / परिहृत-सर्व्व-पीडाः / अ-चाट भट-प्रवेशाः / अ-किञ्चित्-प्रग्राह्याः / समस्त-राजभोग-कर-हिरण्य-प्रत्या-

54 य-सहिताः/ रत्न-त्रय-भूमि-वर्ज्जिताः / इन्द्रेश्वर-नौव(ब)न्ध-प्रतिव(ब)द्ध-दश द्रौणिक-द्वाप-ञ्चाशत्-पाटक-व(ब)हिः/महामुद्राधिकृत-श्रीशुभा-

55 ङ्ग-दूतक-मुखेन भगवन्तम्बु(म्बु द्ध-भट्टारकमुद्दिश्य/माता-पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-यशोभि-वृद्धये/श्रावण-रवि-सङ्क्रान्तौ विधिवदुदक-

56 पूर्व्वकं कृत्वा / आ चन्द्रार्क-क्षिति-समकालं यावत्/ भूमिच्छिद्र-न्यायेन / ताम्रशासनीकृत्य/ प्रदत्ता अस्माभिः / यतो भवद्भिर्ज्जनपदैः

57 क्षेत्रकरैर्व्व्रा(र्ब्रा)ह्मणैश्च विधेयीभूय यथा-दीयमान प्रत्यायोपनयः कार्यः/ यथाकाल-भावि-भोगपतिभिरपि भूमेद्दान-फल-

58 गौरवात्/अपहरणे महानरक-पात भयाच्च/ दानमिदं सम्यगनुमोद्यानुपालनीयमिति/ सम्वत्[2] ५ वैशाख-दिने ५/ तथा च धर्म्मा-

59 नुशंसिनः श्लोकाः।

व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः।

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ 16

1. The rules of *sandhi* have not been ovserved here.
2. Read *saṁvat.*

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च
60 भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
उभो(भौ) तौ पुण्य-कर्म्माणौ नियतं श्व(स्व)र्ग-गामिनौ ॥ 17
सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयो भूयः प्रार्त्थयत्येष रामः ।
61 सामान्योयं धर्म्म-सेतुर्न्नृपाणां
काले काले पालनीयः क्रमेण ॥ 18
स्व-दत्ताम्पर दत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा
62 पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥ 19
इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)-वि(बि)न्दु-लोलां
श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-जीवितञ्च ।
सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बु(बु)द्ध्वा
न हि पु-
63 रुषैः पर-कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ 20
सालवरेन्द्री-विनिर्ग्गत-शुभाङ्ग-दूतक-मुखेन चन्द्रपुरं(रम्)[1] ।
शासनमिदम्प्रवृत्तं राज्ञः श्रीचन्द्रदे-
64 वस्य ॥ 21
कालीग्राम-भवो वैष्णवः समारोपयांव(ब)भूव कृती ।
श्रीमान् विनायकाङ्गो विप्राणां षट्-सहस्राणि ॥ 22
एतच्छासनमु-
65 त्कीर्ण्णं हरदासेन सि(शि)ल्पिना ।
धात्रा(पि*) निर्मितं यस्य /[2] सादृश्यं कर्म्मणः क्वचित् ॥ 23
सान्धि-नि[3]

3. Mainamati Plate (No. 1) of Ladahacandra, Regnal year 6

Metres: verses 1, 4-6 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 2, 9, 13 *Upajāti*; verses 3, 7-8, 11-12, 14, 17, 19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 10 *Āryā*; verses 15-16 *Sragdharā*; verse 18 *Śikhariṇī*; verses 20-23 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 24 *Puṣpitāgrā*.

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1. *Śrīcandrapura* has been made *Candrapura* for the sake of metre.
2. The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
3. A few *akṣaras* are rubbed off after this.

OBVERSE

1 सिद्धम्[1] ॐ नमो भगवते नारायणाय ॥
ज्योतिस्तुषार-शिशिरं च्युतमत्रि-नेत्रा-
2 च्चन्द्रः स तत्क्षणमभूद्भुवनैक-दीपः
वङ्श (वंश)स्ततः प्रवहृते पृथिवी-प-
3 तीनां
सारोत्तरश्च सरलश्च समुन्नतश्च ॥ 3
विश्वोपकारस्य परो
4 विधाता
धर्म्मोत्पथश्चाच्युत एव जात्या ।
महेश्वरश्चाजननादतोभू-
द्देव-त्रयात्मे-
5 व स चन्द्र-वङ्शः वंशः) ॥ 2
तस्याभ्युन्नति-शालिनः प्रचयिनो वङ्श(वंश)स्य मुक्ता मणिः
ख्यातः क्ष्मा-वलयैक-ना-
6 यकतया त्रैलोक्यचन्द्रो नृपः ॥ (1)
अक्षुद्रः परिशुद्धिमानपगत-त्रासः सुवृत्तो गुण-
श्लाघ्यः पुण्य-
7 तमो व (ब)भूव जगतः प्रीत्यै च भूत्यै च यः ॥ 3
सम्पाद्यते प्रति-नर-श्रुति-पावनीभि-
र्याापि यस्य गुणिनो
8 गुण-सङ्कथाभिः ।
आनन्द वाष्प भर-मन्थर-पक्ष्म-चक्षुः
पर्युल्लसत्पुलक कञ्चुकमङ्गमङ्गम् ॥ 4
तस्मात्म(न्म)-
9 हावनिभृतां शरणादनन्त-
भोगास्पदात् स मकरादुदधेरिवेन्दुः ।
श्रीचन्द्र इत्यजनि काञ्चन-कान्ति-
10 चौर-
स्तन्वन् श्रियं जगति काञ्चन-काञ्चनेयः ॥ 5

1. Expressed by symbol.

प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वर-वधूजन-लोचनानां
बाष्प व्यय-व्रतम-
11 खण्डितमाततान ।
गौडावरोध-वनिताधर-पल्लवानि
चक्रे च यो विगलित-स्मित-कुड्मलानि ॥ 6
राज्ञस्त-
12 स्य पवित्रितोभय कुलः कल्याणचन्द्रः सुतः
प्रख्यातो विमलोज्ज्वलैस्त्रिभुवनालङ्कार-भूतैर्गुणैः ।
जात्या
13 धर्ममयो महावनिभृतां तुङ्ग शिरोभिर्धृतः
सद्भिः सेव्यतमः प्रवाह इव यस्त्रैस्रोतसः पावनः ॥ 7
14 म्लेच्छीनान्नयनेषु येन जनितः स्थूलो(ला)श्रु-कोश-व्ययो
गौडीनां स्मित चन्द्रिका विरहिणः सृष्टाश्च वक्त्रेन्दवः ।
15 आतस्तार निजैर्यशोभिरमलैरष्टावनष्टोदयै-
र्यश्चैताः शशभृत्करैरिव घन-त्याग-प्रकाशैर्दिशः ॥ 8
लक्ष्मी-
16 रिवात्यन्त मनोज्ञ-रूपा
तस्यानुरूपा पुरुषोत्तमस्य ।
प्रिया तदाराधन-केलि कल्या
कल्याणदेवीति शुभा व(ब)-
17 भूव ॥ 9
कुन्तीव सत्यवाचं रुद्राणीवात्मजं महासेनम् ।
सूते स्म लडहचन्द्रं सा खलु देवी महार्हगुण[म्] ॥ 10
दिव्यो दु-
18 न्दुभिरुच्चनाद ननृतुं(तु)र्विद्याधर-श्रेणयः
पुष्पश्च त्रिदिवात्पपात मधुकृत्क्वाणोर्मि वाचाल्तिम् ।
जाते यत्र व-
19 वुः सुखाश्च मरुतस्ताश्च प्रसेदुर्दिशो
देवी दूरमुदश्वसत् किमपरं सार्द्धं समुद्रैश्च भूः ॥ 11
काष्ठां प्रापदहोभि-
20 रेव परमां विद्योपविद्यासु यः
क्रूरान्यश्च षडान्तरानिव शतं वा(बा)ह्यानजैषीदरीन् ।
भर्तु य(र्य)स्य च रञ्जितास्त्रि-

21 भुवनोद्गीतैर्गुणानां गणै-
गौंश्च श्रीश्च वसुन्धरा च वस(श)गास्तिस्रोप्यभुवन्निमाः ॥ 12
प्रयुज्यतांस्तान् गुणवान् गुणा-
22 न्यो
महाफलं वृद्धिमवाप्य चैषाम् ।
भोक्ता च गोप्ता च नयैक-चक्षु-
रभूद्भुवः सागर-मेखलायाः ॥ 13
लक्ष्मीमूर्ज्जि-
23 त-विक्रमो व(ब)लि-जय-प्रख्यात-वीर्योदय-
श्चक्रे यः पुरुषोत्तमो निज-गुणैस्तैस्तैरनन्यानुगाम् ।
अङ्गेष्वर्प्पयिता-
24 न् च भूतिमनघान् काममिव(मं वि)जेता च यो
दुर्गायाः करमग्रहीद्गिरिभुवो भूतेशतामास्थितः ॥ 14
यो'न्तर्मग्रश्च पारं पर-
25 ममुपगतश्चाशु विद्या-नदीनां
दोष्णा यः ख्यातवीर्यो जगदवन-महानाटिका-नायकेन ।
क्षोणीभृन्मौलि-माला-प-
26 रिमल-सुरभीभूत-पादाब्ज(ब्ज)-रेणु-
र्यश्चानन्यातपत्रामकृत वसुमतीमप्रयासादहोभिः ॥ 15
वाराणस्यामयासीत् सह गि-
27 रिसुतया शम्भुनाध्यासितायां
मग्नासीत्तत्र गाङ्गे पयसि गत-मलः स्नानतार्प्पीत् पितॄंश्च ।
पाणौ पाणौ द्विजानामथ
28 कन(न)कमदात्तस्य को वेत्ति सङ्ख्यां
सङ्ख्यावानेक एव त्रिभुवन-तिलकः क्ष्मापतिर्धिक् तदन्यान् ॥ 16
साक्षादक्षतधीर-
29 यष्ट दशभिर्यत्राश्वमेधैः स्वभूः
श्रीकण्ठः सह दुर्गया प्रमुदितो यामध्यवात्सीत्स्वयम् ।
गाङ्गा क्षालित-पाप-पङ्क-वि-
30 षदां तामेत्य वाराणसीं
सस्नौ च प्रददौ च कोशमखिलं धर्मानुरागो नृपः ॥ 17
सुखं स्नात्वा कृत्वा तदनु पितृ-सन्तर्प्प-

31 ण-विधि

विधिज्ञः सम्भेदे शुचि-पयसि गङ्गा-यमुनयोः ।

द्विजानान्तर्षात्तिं घन(न)-कनक-धारा-वितरणा-

न्महाभुतः सो-

REVERSE

32 भुच्छमयितुमलं भीष्म-चरितः ॥ 18

स्थाने'त्र व सुरापगा च यमुना चात्र व विस्पन्द-

33 ते

सोप्यत्रैव युग-क्षयाखिल-जगद्ध्वङ्सै(द्ध्वंसै)क-साक्षी वटः ।

तस्यात्रैव च कीर्त्ति-वल्लभ-नृप-

34 स्याकल्प-दानं जनाः

सत्यम्वि(त्यं वि)स्मय-घूर्ण्णमान-शिरसः के वा न रोमाञ्चिताः ॥

स्वस्ति (।*) स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-समा-

35 वासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकल्याणचन्द्रदेव-पादानुध्यातः परमेश्वर-प-

36 रमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् लडहचन्द्रदेवः कुशली ॥ पौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तः-पाति/समतट-मण्डले /

37 श्रीपट्टीकेरके/फुल्लहड्डा-सम्ब(म्ब)द्ध-स्व-सीमावच्छिन्न-पादोन-षड्- द्रोण-प्रमाण-चम्पा-वणी भूमौ/तथा डोल्लवा

38 यिका - सं / पूर्व्वेण दीर्घिका - पश्चिमार्द्ध-सूपकारवोरक-वु(बु)द्धनन्दिग्राम-भूमि-पश्चिमान्त-रोपित-कील्काः सी-

39 मा/दक्षिणेन व(ब)लेश्वरवर्द्धकिवोरक-भूम्युत्तरालिः / गोविन्दोश्वम-दक्षिण-पादश्च सीमा / पश्चिमेन ओडगो-

40 धानिका-भूमेः पूर्व्वालि(ः*) गोधानी-भूमेर्द्दक्षिण-सीमाल्यारोपित-कीलकः घण्टाख-भूमे-र्द्दक्षिण-सीमालि-पूर्व्व-

41 सीमालयः सीमा/उत्तरेण जयलम्भग्रामीय-दक्षिणालिः सीमा/एवं चतुः-सीमावच्छिन्न-वि(बि)न्दु-द्वयाधिक-काक-त्र-

42 योपेत - पञ्च - यष्टि-सहित - पादोन-पञ्च-द्रोणान्विताष्ट-पाटक-प्रमाण-ब(व)प्पसिङ्ह्-(सिंह)वोरक-ग्रामे च/तथा गुप्तीना-

43 टन-सं[1]/पूर्व्वेण वुड्ढीगङ्गिणी / दक्षिणेन करवत्तीवोरकोत्तरालिः सीमा/पश्चिमेन वग्गुरभोग-भूमेः पश्चि-

1. The abbreviation *saṁ* here stands for *sambaddha*.

44 म-दण्डालिः सीमा,उत्तरेण शङ्कर-भट्टारक-भुज्यमान - भूमेर्द्दक्षिण वद्दिक[ा*]र्द्दः/एवं चतु - स्सीमावच्छिन्न-वग्गुर-

45 भोग[ः*] / धृतिपुरहट्टिका-समेत - काकाधिक-नव -द्रोणोपेत पाटक-त्रय-भूमि-प्रमाण- महादेवग्रामे च समुपग-

46 ताशेष - राजपुरुष - राज्ञी-राणक राजपुत्र राजामात्य-महाव्यूहपति-मण्डलपति-महासान्धि- विग्रहिक,महासे-

47 नापति/महाक्षपटलिक/महासर्व्वाधिकृत'महाप्रतिहार/कोट्टपाल / दौस्साधसाधनिक/ चौरोद्ध- रणिक-नौ-

48 व(ब)ल-हस्त्यश्व-गो-महिषाजाविकादि-व्यापृतक/गौल्मिक-शौल्किक/दण्डपाशिक/विषयपत्या- दीनन्यां-

49 श्च सकल-राजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तान्नि(नि)हाकीर्त्तितान् / चाट - भट-जातीयान् / जनपदान् / क्षेत्रकरांश्च

50 व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं मानयति वो(बो)धयति समादिशति च'मतमस्तु भवताम् / यथोपरि-लिखित-भूमिरियं ग्राम-द्व-

51 यश/स्व सीमावच्छिन्नं तृण-पूति-गोचर-पर्यन्तं स-तलं सोद्देशं/साम्र-पनसं/स-गुवाक नालिकेरं स लवणं/स जल-

52 स्थलं / स-गर्त्तोषरं / स-दशापराधं/स-चौरोद्धरणं/परिहृत-सर्व-पीडं(डम्)/अ-चाट-भट प्रवेशं- (शम्)/अ-किञ्चित्-प्रग्राह्यं/समस्त-रा-

53 ज-भोग-कर-हिरण्य-प्रत्याय-सहितं(तम्) अस्मत् कारित-श्रीलडहमाधवभट्टारकाय/ विधिवदुदक-पूर्व्वकं कृत्वा/पुण्ये-

54 हनि/भगवन्तम्वा(न्तं वा)सुदेवभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य माता-पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-यशोभि- वृद्धये/आ-चन्द्रार्क-क्षिति-समका-

55 लं यावत्/भूमिच्छिद्र-न्यायेन/श्रीमद्धर्म्मचक्र-मुद्रया ताम्रशासनीकृत्य ढौकितमस्माभिः/ अतो भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरनु-

56 मन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्भूमेर्द्दान-फल-गौरवादपहरणे महानरक-पात-भयाच्च दानमि- दमनुमोद्या-

57 नुपालनीयम्/निवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरश्चाज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयीभूय यथोचित-प्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य्य इति ।

58 भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशन्सि(शंसि)नः श्लोकाः ।

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
उभौ तौ पुण्य-कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग-गामिनौ ॥ 20

59 षष्टिम्व(ष्टिं व)र्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः ।
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकम्व(कं व)सेत् ॥ 21

स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत वसुन्ध-
60 रां(राम्) ।
स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥ 22
व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
61 तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ 23
इति कमल-दलाम्बु(म्बु)-वि(बि)न्दु-लोलां
श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-जीवितञ्च ।
सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बु(बु)द्ध्वा
न हि पुरुषैः पर-की-
62 र्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ 24
श्रीमल्लडहचन्द्रदेवपादीय-सम्वत्(संवत्) ६ ज्ये(ज्ये)ष्ठ-दिने ३०(।*)
महासान्धि-नि अनु महाक्ष-नि[1] ॥

4. Mainamati Plate (No. 2) of Laḍahacandra, Regnal year 6

[The introductory stanzas are the same as in No. 3 above.]

REVERSE

5 ... ... स्वस्ति । स खलु
6 श्रीविक्रमपुर-समावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकल्याणचन्द्रदे-
7 वपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् लडहचन्द्रदेवः कुशली ॥
8 श्रीपौण्ड्र-भुक्त्यन्तःपाति-समतट-मण्डले/पेरनाटन-विषय-सं[2] पूर्वेण मायु-पाटकावस्थित लोकनाथ-
9 भट्टारकीय-शासन भूमेः पश्चिमालिः सीमा/दक्षिणेन लोकनाथभट्टारकीय-शासन-भूमेरेवोत्तरालिः
10 सीमा/पश्चिमेन व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेववोरकग्रामीय-पूर्वान्तः सीमा/उत्तरेण कंसाराकद्दपोलकग्रामीय-दक्षि-

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1. The contraction *ni* stands for *nibaddha* or *nirīkṣita.* The charter was first approved by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace) and then by the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* (record keeper and accounts officer).
2. Here *saṁ* stand for *sambaddha.*

11 ण-खातः सीमा / एवं चतुः-सीमावच्छिन्नोनत्रिंश्(त्रिंश)द्यष्ट्यधिक सार्द्ध द्रोणोपेताष्ट-पाटक-प्रमाण-सुरवोरकग्रामे ।

12 समुपगताशेष - राजपुरुष - राज्ञी - राणक - राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-महाव्यूहपति-मण्डलपति-महासन्धि-

13 विग्रहिक / महासेनापति / महाक्षपटलिक / महासर्वाधिकृत / महाप्रतीहार / कोट्टपाल / दौस्सा-

14 धसाधनिक / चौरोद्धरणिक /नौव(ब)ल-हस्त्यश्व-गो-महिषाजाविकादि-व्यापृतक/गौल्मिक/शौल्कि-

15 क/दण्डपाशिक/दण्डनायक/विषयपत्यादीनन्या(न्यां)श्च सकल-राजपादोपजीविनो'ध्यक्ष-प्रचारोक्तानि(नि)हाकीर्त्ति-

16 तान्/चाट-भट-जातीयान् जनपदान्/क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं मानयति बो(बो)धयति समादि-

17 शति च,मतमस्तु भवतां(ताम्)/यथोपरि लिखित-ग्रामोयं स्व-सीमावच्छिन्नः,तृण-पूति-गोचर-पर्यन्तः स-तलः

18 सोद्देशः साम्र-पनसः स गुवाक-नालिकेरः स लवणः स-गर्त्तोषरः स-दशापराधः स-चौ-

19 रोद्धरणः परिहृत-सर्व-पीडः/अ-किञ्चित् प्रग्राह्यः समस्त-राजभोग-कर-हिरण्य-प्र-

20 त्याय-सहितः श्रीपट्टीकेरके'स्मत् कारित-श्रीलडहमाधव - भट्टारकाय/विधिवदुदक पूर्वकं कृत्वा

21 पुण्ये'हनि/भगवन्तम्वा(न्तं वा)सुदेवभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य माता-पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-यशो'भिवृद्धये /

22 आ चन्द्रार्क-क्षिति-समकालं यावत् / भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन / श्रीमद्धर्मचक्र-मुद्रया / ताम्र-शासनीकृत्य दौ-

23 कितोस्माभिः/अतोभवद्भिः सर्वैरनुमन्तव्यः/भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिर्भूमेर्दानफल-गौरवादपह-

24 रणे महानरक-पात-भयाच्च दानमिदमनुमोद्यानुपालनीयम्/निवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्चाज्ञा-श्रवण-वि-

25 धयीभूय यथोचित-प्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य इति/भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशन्सि(शंसि)नः श्लोकाः ।...........

[Here in lines 25-30 follow the five imprecatory stanzas also found in Laḍahacandra's other grant.]

30 ... . श्रीलडहचन्द्रदेवपादीय-सम्व(संव)त् ६ आषाढ-दिने ३ (।*) महासान्धि-नि अनु महाक्ष नि[1] (॥*)

1. For these abbreviations, see the other grant of Laḍahacandra.

5. Mainamati Plate of Govindacandra

[Metres : verses 1-3, 10-11, 15-16 *Upajāti* ; verses 4-7, 12-14 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 8 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 9 *Śikhariṇī* ; verses 17-20 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 21 *Puṣpitāgrā.*]

OBVERSE

1 सिद्धम्[1] स्वस्ति (।*)

निःश्रेयसायास्तु जिनो जनाना-

मनुत्तरं शर्म्म करो-

2 तु धर्म्मः ।

सङ्घोप्यघं हन्तु तयोः प्रभावा-

दुत्तीर्ण-संसार-महाम्ब-

3 मुद्रः ॥ 1

यदद्भुतन्निर्गतमत्रि-नेत्रा-

ज्ज्योतिः प्रकृत्या शिशिरं सितञ्च (।*)

सो-

4 भूत्क्षमात् सुन्दर-कान्तिरिन्दु-

रानन्दनो लोक-विलोचनानां(नाम्) ॥ 2

तस्य प्रजा-प्रीतिकरोद- ।[2]

5 यस्य

दिशान्तमः-खण्डन-पण्डितस्य (।*)

क्रमात्प्रवृद्धः सरलः सुपर्व्वा

समुन्नतश्च प्रससा-

6 र वङ्शः(वंशः) ॥ 3

वागीशाधिक-धीरखण्डित-मही-रक्षाधिकार-व्रतः ।[3]

प्रत्यर्थि-प्रतिपादितेप्सित-फलः कल्पद्रुमो-

7 जङ्गमः (।*)

श्रीचन्द्रः शरदिन्दु-सुन्दर-मुखो विद्या वधूनां पति ।[2]

8 र्जातस्तत्र पवित्रितोभय-कुलः क्षोणीभुजामग्रणीः ॥ 4

येनाजौ द्विषतां गणः सुर-

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1. Expressed by symbol,
2. The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

9 वधू-सङ्गोत्सवैर्योजितः

पात्रम्मित्रजनः कृतश्च धवलच्छत्र-स्मितानां श्रियां(याम्) ।

लोकानां

10 परिपालने च भरणे चात्यन्त-व(ब)द्धोद्यमः

ख्यातो यश्च स-शैल-सागर-मही-पर्यन्त पान्थैर्गुणैः ॥ 5

11 तस्मात्क्षीर-निधेरिवेन्दुरभवन्नेत्रोत्सवैक-प्रसू-

र्दूरोल्लासि-कला-कलाप-नि-

12 लयः कल्याणचन्द्रो नृपः ।

यस्त्यागेन व(ब)लिर्द्विषद्भयकृता रामः प्रतापेन यो[2] यः ।[1]

स-

13 त्येन युधिष्ठिरो व(ब)लवता शौर्येण यश्चार्ज्जुनः ॥ 6

येनासौ द्विगुणीकृतः पति-वधादु-

14 द्वेजितानां घनै-

र्मुर्च्छीनाञ्नयनाम्बुभिर्विगलितैः लो(लौ)हित्य-नामा नदः ।

येनाजौ ग-

15 ज-वाजि-पत्ति-व(ब)हुलां सेनां गृहीत्वा व(ब)ला-

द्गौडानामधिपः कृतश्च (सु*)चिरं लज्जावनम्रा-

16 ननः ॥ 7

तस्मादजायत सुतः श्रुत शील-शाली

कौलीन-भीरु-हृदयः सदयः प्रजा-

17 सु ॥(।)

विद्याधरैः कनक-सै(शै)ल इवाधिगम्यः

सर्वोत्तरो लडहचन्द्र इति क्षितीन्द्रः ।(।*) 8

18 ययौ वाराणस्यां सुरसरिति सन्नौ च व(ब)हुशः

शतं वारानर्थिष्वथ कनक-वृष्टिश्च वि- ।[1]

19 दधे ।

कवित्वात् पाण्डित्याद्दिशि दिशि च यः कीर्त्तिमनघां

वितेने शत्रु-स्त्री-निधुवन काल्लो-

20 च्छेद-चतुरः ॥ 9

देवस्य तस्येन्दु समान-कान्तेः

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1. The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

2. Omit *yo*.

सौभाग्यदेवीति महानुभावा (।*)
शिवा शि-
21 व(स्येव*) हरेरिव श्रीः
प्रियङ्करा प्राणसमा प्रियाभूत् ॥ 10
सा सुप्रशस्येह्नि शुभे मुहूर्ते
परीतमङ्गैर्द्दृत-राज-चिह्नः ।
22 मुख-श्रिया निर्जित-पूर्ण-चन्द्रं
गोविन्दचन्द्रं सुसुवे सुखेन ॥ 11
भूते जन्मनि तस्य
23 पुष्पमपतद्दिव्यं मही-मण्डले
सामोदः शिशिरः शनैर्म्मरुद्ववाद(दा)सन् प्रसन्ना दिशः (।*)
वीणा-
24 वेणु-मृदङ्ग-निस्वन मयं श्रृङ्गार-चेष्टा-मयं
तत्तल्लास्य-कला-मयं पितृ-पुरं सान्तःपुरश्चाभ-
25 वत् ॥ 12
ईशस्तस्य पिता शिवा च जननी सोभूत् स्वयं शक्तिमान्
लोकोयन्श्रुतिमानजायत म-
26 हासेनस्य तस्योद्भवात् (।*)
विद्या शैशव एव तेन दिवसरल्पैः सुखं शिक्षिताः
27 स्वाभ्यस्तो गज-वाजि-वाहन-विधिर्ज्ञाताश्च सर्वाः कलाः ॥ 13
मूर्त्तो धर्म्म इति क्षमा-निधिरिति त्राता प्रजा-
28 नामिति
श्रेयः-पात्रमिति श्रियां वसतिरित्युद्दाम-धामेति च (।*)
क्षोणीन्द्रः परिकीर्त्यते प्र-
29 ति-दिशं प्रत्यालयं प्रत्यहं
सानन्दं स-कुतूहलं लोकैः स एकः परं(रम्) ॥ 14
आखण्डलस्ये-

REVERSE

30 व विकस्वरा श्रीः
प्रचण्डरश्मेरिव चण्डमोजः ।
तस्यास्तु भूमण्डल-म-

31 ण्डनस्य

मृकण्ड-सूनोरिव दीर्घमायुः (॥*) 15

शिवं स्वयम्भूः सृजतु प्रकामं

हरिः श-

32 रीर-स्थितिमादधातु (।*)

विपक्ष-संहारमुदार-कीर्त्तें-

र्गोविन्दचन्द्रस्य हरः करोतु ॥ 16

स खलु श्रीवि-

33 क्रमपुर-समावासित-श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्परमसौगतोमहाराजाधिराज-श्रीलडहचन्द्र-

34 देव-पादानुध्यातः परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवः

35 कुशली श्रीपौण्ड्रभुक्त्यन्तःपाति - समतट - मण्डले पेरनाटन-विषय-सं[1]-
साहरतलाके पाटक-

36 द्वय-भूमौ समुपगताशेष-राजपुरुष-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-महाव्यूहप-।[2]

37 ति-मण्डलपति-महासान्धिविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महाक्षपटलिक-महासर्व्वा-

38 धिकृत महाप्रतीहार-कोट्टपाल दौःसाधसाधनिक-चौरोद्धरणिक नौव(ब)ल हृ-

39 स्त्यश्व-गो-महिषाजाविकादि-व्यापृतक-गौल्मिक सौ(शौ)ल्किक-द(ण्ड*)नाय-

40 क-विषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सकल-राज-पादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्ष-प्रचारोक्तानिहा-

41 कीर्त्तितान् चाट-भट जातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् यथा-

42 र्हं मानयति बो(बो)धयति समादिशति च(।*)मतमस्तु भवतां यथोपरि-लिखित भूमि-

43 रियं स्व सीमावच्छिन्ना तृण-पूति-गोचर-पर्यन्ता स-तला सोद्देशा साम्र-पनसा स गु-

44 वाक-नालिकेरा स-लवणा स जल स्थला स गर्त्तोषरा स-दशापराधा स-चौरो-

45 द्धरणा परिहृत-सर्व्व-पीडा अ चाट-भट प्रवेशा-अ-किञ्चित्-प्रग्राह्या समस्त राज-

46 भोग-कर-हिरण्य-प्रत्याय सहिता नट्टेश्वरभट्टारकाय पुण्येऽहनि विधिवदुद-

47 क-पूर्व्वकं कृत्वा शिवभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य माता-पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-यशो-

48 भिवृद्धये ॥[3] आ-चन्द्रार्क-क्षिति-सम-कालं यावत् भूमिच्छिद्र-न्यायेन श्रीमद्धर्म्मचक्र मु-

49 द्रया। ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तास्माभिः (।*) अतो भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरनुमन्तव्यं भाविभिर-

50 पि भूपतिभिर्भूमेर्दान-फल-गौरवादपहरणे महानरक-पात भयाच्च दानमि-

51 दमनुमोद्यानुपालनीयं(यम् ।) निवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्चाज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयीभूय यथोचि-

52 त-प्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य इति भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशन्सि(शंसि)नः श्लोकाः ।

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृ-

1. Here *saṁ* stands for *sambaddha.*
2. The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
3. The double *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

53 ह्वाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति (।*)
उभौ तौ पुण्य-कर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्ग-गामिनौ ॥ 17
षष्ठिं वर्ष-सह-
54 स्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः (।*)
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वशे(से)त् ॥ 18
स्व-दत्ताम्पर- ।[1]
55 दत्ताम्बा(त्तां वा) यो हरेद्व(त व)सुन्धरां(राम् ।)
स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृ(तृ)भिः सह पच्यते ॥ 19
व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा
56 दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः (।*)
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ 20
इति कमल-
57 दलाम्बु(म्बु)-वि बि)न्दु-लोलां
श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-जीवितं च (।*)
सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा
58 न हि पुरुषैः पर-कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥०॥ 21

6. Fragment of the Mainamati Plate of Vīradharadeva.

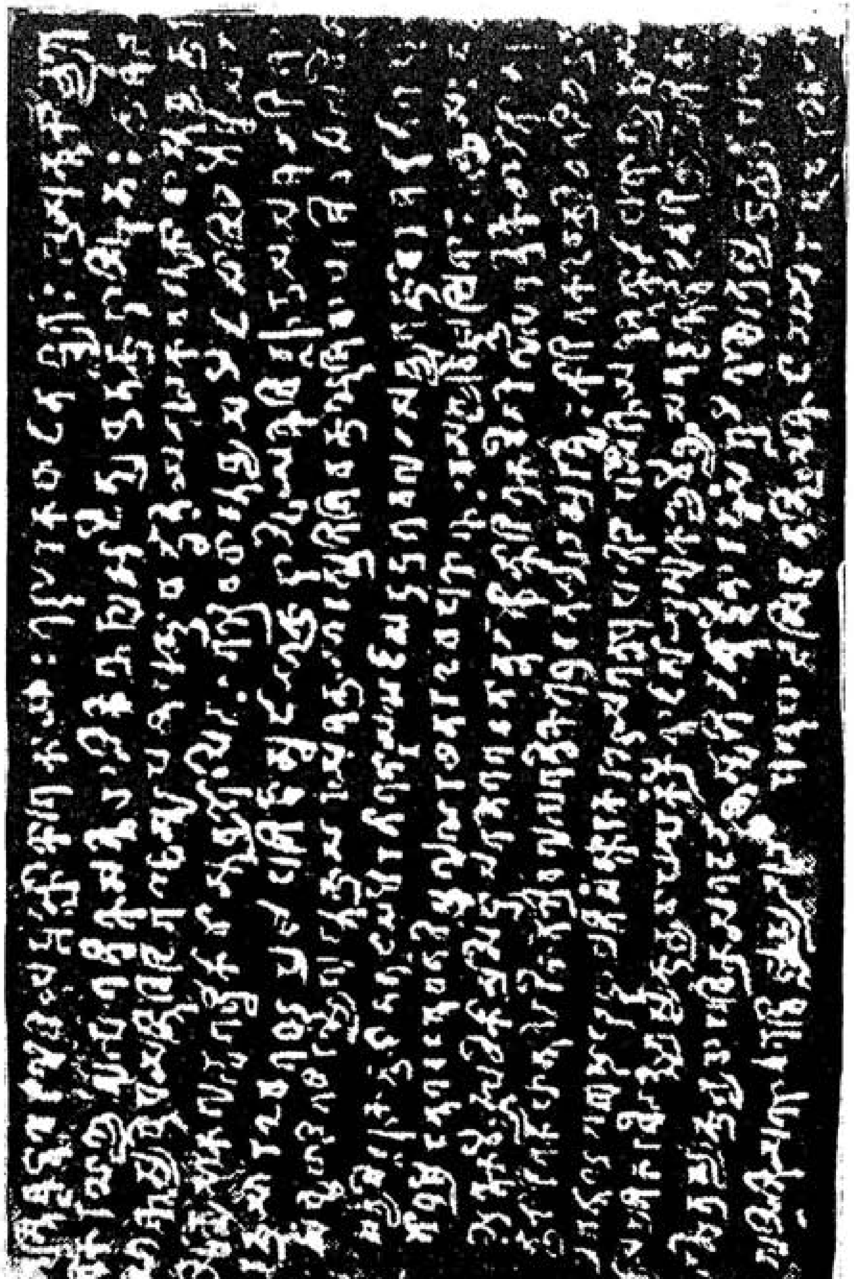
1 श्रीलडहमाधवाभिधान श्रीवासु-
2 देवभट्टारकाय श्रीमता श्रीवी-
3 रधरदेवेन पुण्ये'हनै(नि) विधिव-
4 दुदक-पूर्व्वकं कृत्वा भगवन्तम्वा(न्तं वा)सुदे-
5 वभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरा-
6 त्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये आ-च-
7 न्द्रार्क-क्षिति सम कालं यावद्भूमिच्छि-
8 द्रन्यायेन श्रीमद्विष्णुचक्र-मुद्रया
9 ताम्रशासनीकृत्य श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-
10 भुक्त्यन्तःपाति-समतट-मण्डले
11 वात्तगङ्गा-विषय-सद्मे स्वाबा

1. The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

INDEX

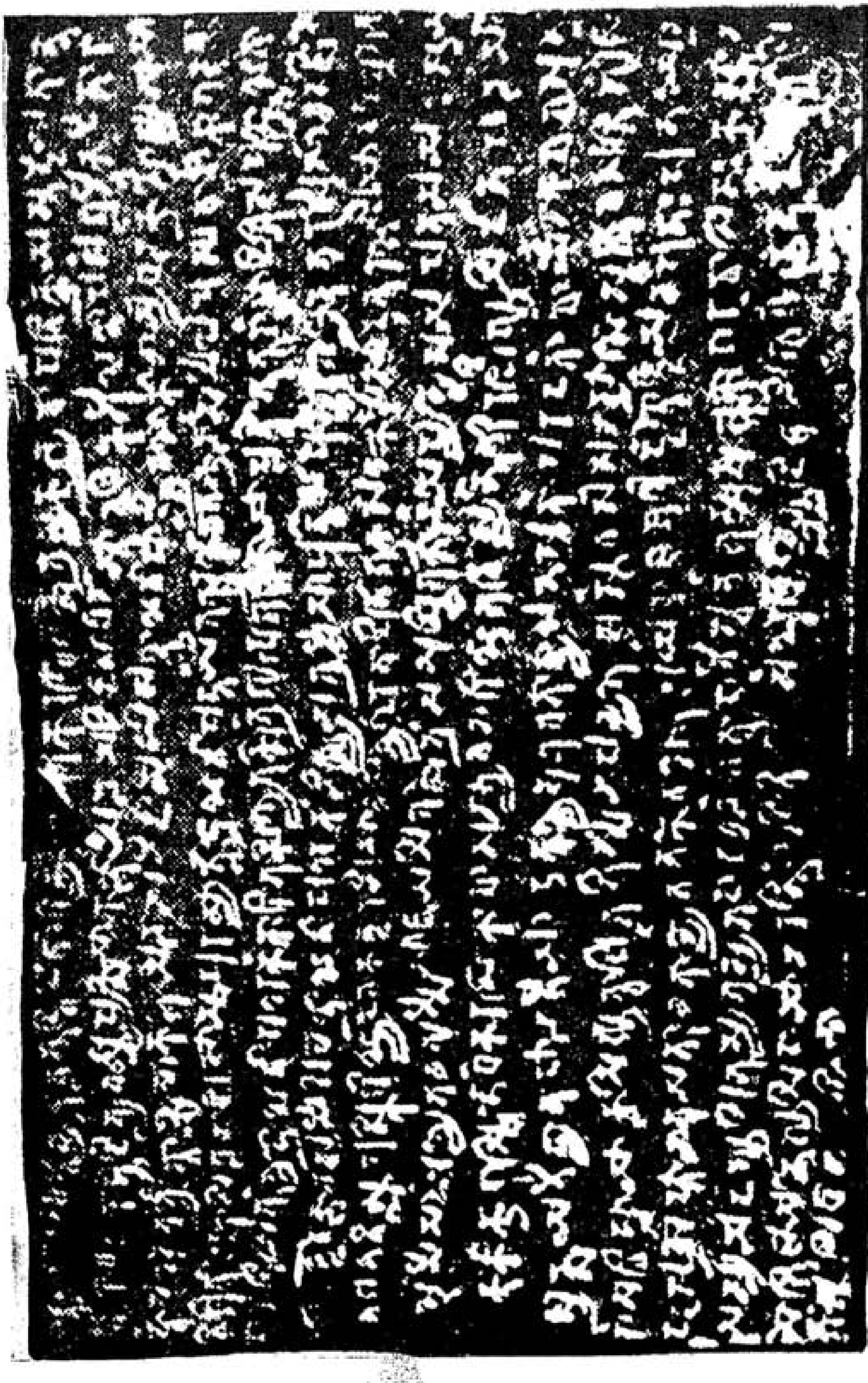
Corrigenda

Page	*Line*	*Correction*
8	27	*Omit* University *and read* B. S. 1370
12	30	*Adhikaraṇikas*
19	2	Regnal year 5
19	20	*Commemoration*
23	22	southern
30	9-10	together with Aveḍikā attached to Sātalavarga, all within
30	22	Śrīhaṭṭa-maṇḍala
31	15 and 18	Jujjū
31	16	Vetraghaṭī (read as *Vetraghaṅghī* by Gupta Chaudhury)
32	24	cobblers
34	25	Do.
35	17	Siṅgha(Siṁha)datta *for* Siṭabhadatta (found in Gupta Chaudhury's Devanāgarī transcript)
35	18	Antaga *for* Ananta (read as *Annaṭa* by Gupta Chaudhury)
37	17-20	*Omit*—but *anu*......appears to be incomplete.
43	25	'Dispeller of hundred and one fears' is the peculiar translation of the wrongly read word *apaśatatrāsa*
49	30	Mleccha women
61	9	*tatr=aiva*
64	28	*vahniṁ*
66	22	Read *Aveḍikā* and *viṣayeṣu*

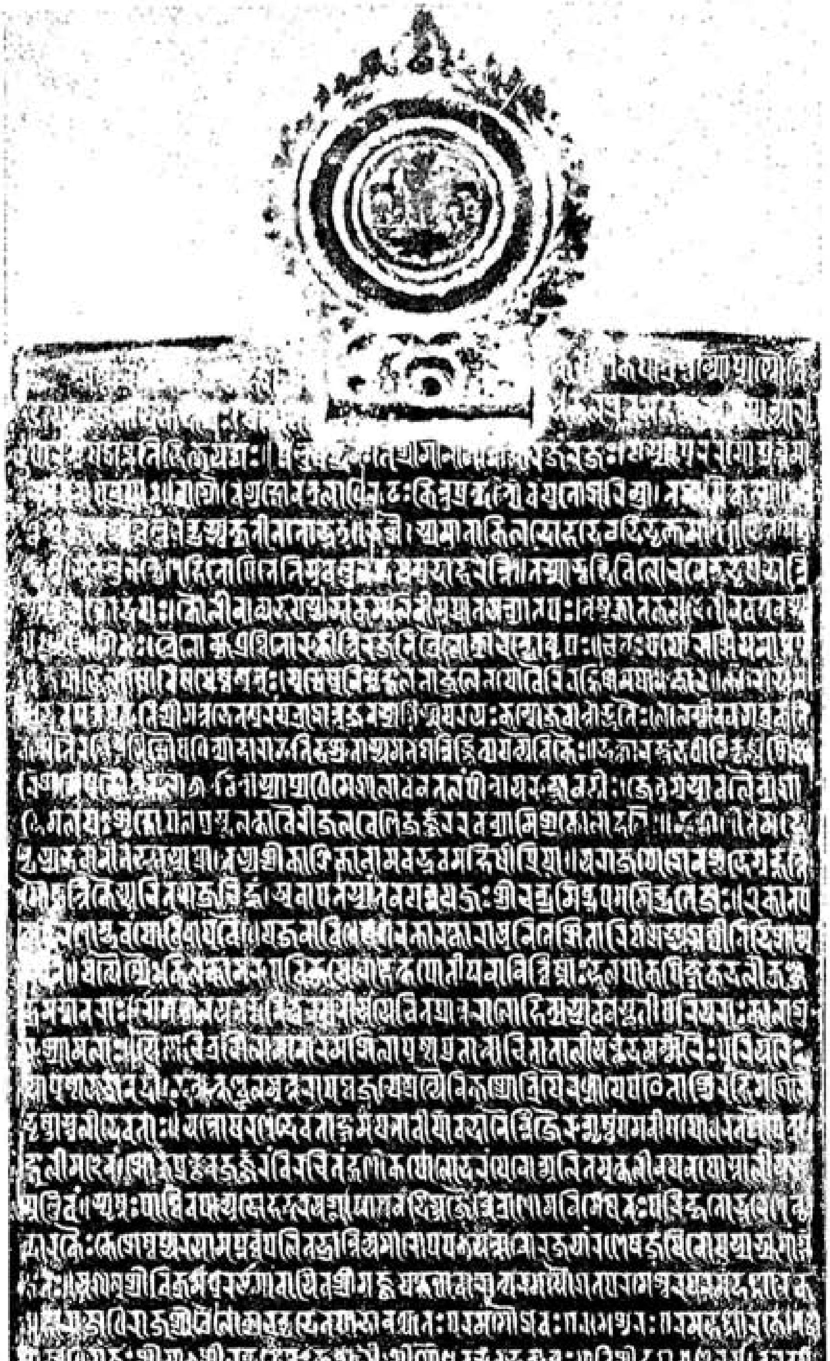


Jagadishpur Plate of the Gupta Year 128 (Obverse)

PLATE II

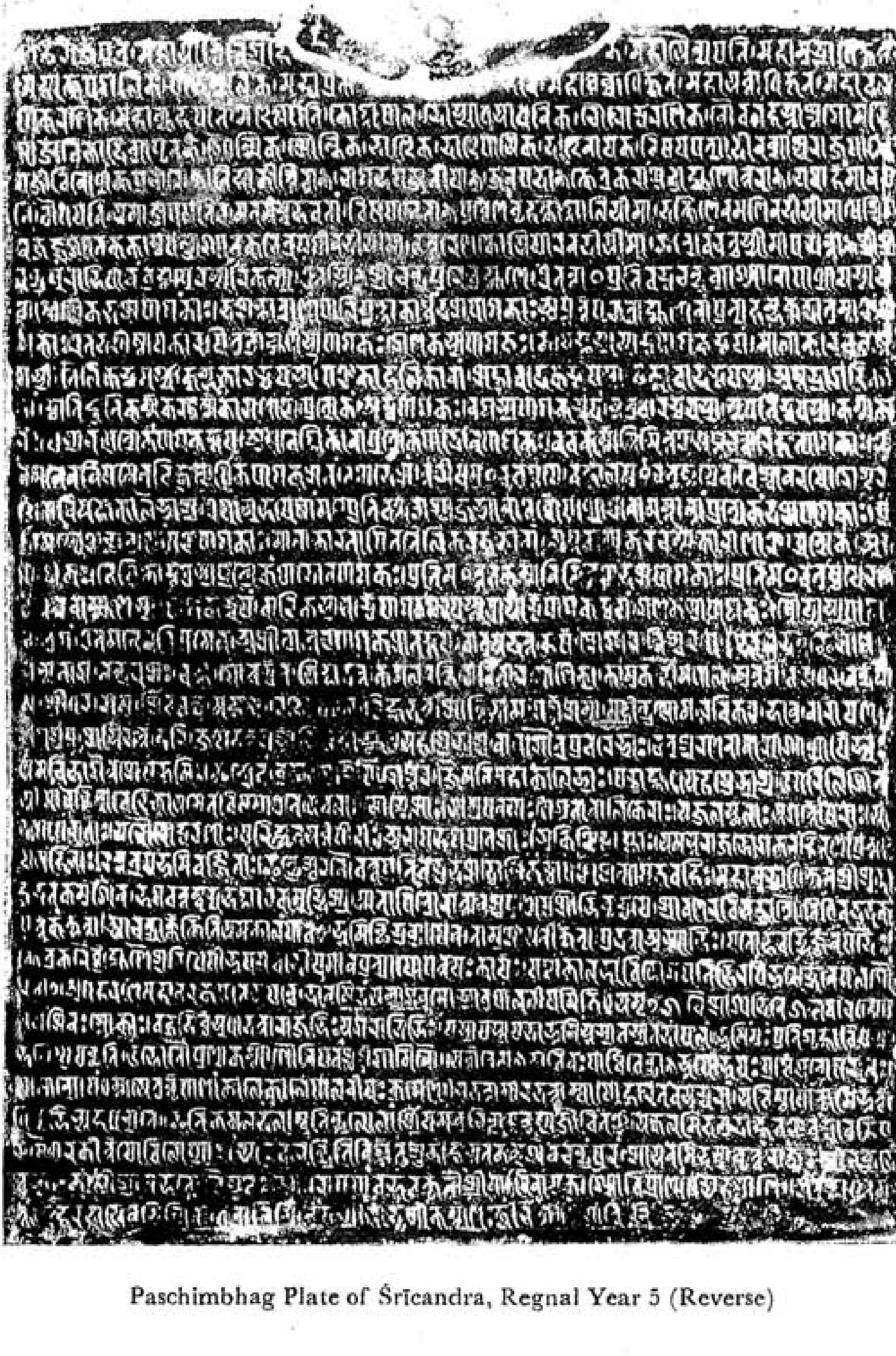


Jagadishpur Plate of the Gupta Year 128 (Reverse)



Paschimbhag Plate of Śrīcandra, Regnal Year 5 (Obverse)

PLATE IV

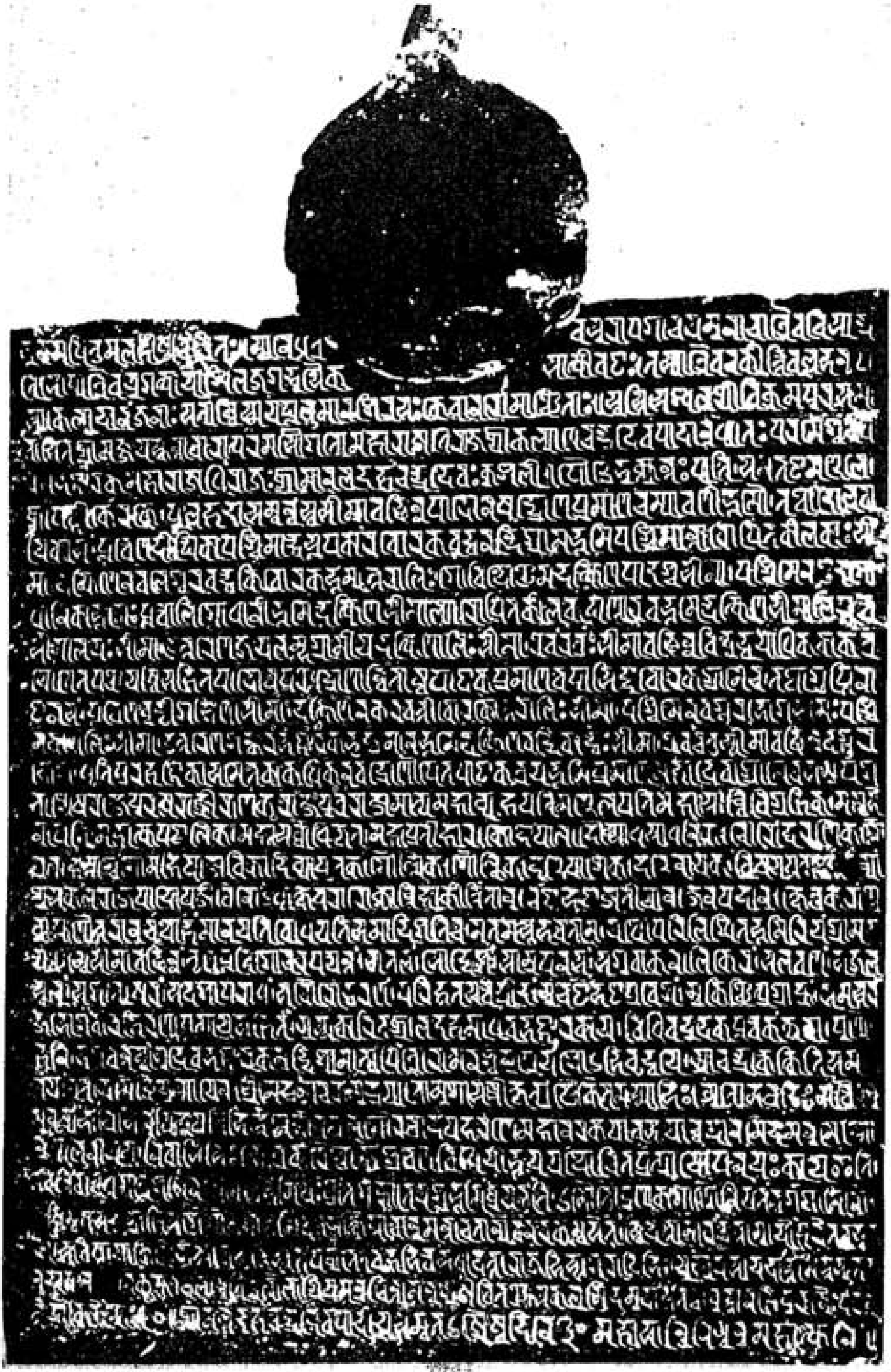


Paschimbhag Plate of Śrīcandra, Regnal Year 5 (Reverse)



Mainamati Plate (No. 1) of Laḍahacandra, Regnal Year 6 (Obverse)

PLATE VI



Mainamati Plate (No. 1) of Laḍahacandra, Regnal Year 6 (Reverse)

PLATE VII



Mainamati Plate (No. 2) of Laḍahacandra, Regnal Year 6 (Reverse)

PLATE VIII



Mainamati Plate of Govindacandra (Obverse)



Mainamati Plate of Govindacandra (Reverse)